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of the

American Society of Church History

Second Series

Volume VII

Edited by

Frederick William Loetscher

Secretary

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ACT OF INCORPORATION

LAWS OF NEW YORK

Chap. 82

AN ACT to incorporate The American Society of Church History, Incorporated.

Became a law March 30, 1916, with the approval of the Governor. Passed, three-fifths being present.

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1. John Alfred Faulkner, Edward Payson Johnson, William Walker Rockwell, Henry James Weber, Robert Hastings Nichols, Francis Albert Christie, Joseph Cullen Ayer, junior, James Isaac Good, David Schley Schaff, Henry Bradford Washburn, Frederick William Loetscher, James Coffin Stout, Austin B. Keep, William A. Schwarze, and George Edwin Horr and their successors in office chosen from time to time are hereby incorporated and are declared to be a body corporate of the state of New York by the name of The American Society of Church History, Incorporated, and by such name shall be known and shall have perpetual succession with the powers, limitations and restrictions herein contained.

Section 2. The objects of the corporation shall be to promote and stimulate historical study and research generally, but particularly in the department of church history; to discover, collect and preserve historical manuscripts; to print, publish and cause to be distributed, papers, books, writings, reports, articles and data bearing on or in anywise relating to church history or containing the results of the researches or other activities of its members; to establish and maintain traveling fellowships to carry out or to maintain any of the foregoing purposes;

to hold conventions or meetings of its members; to establish and maintain a library; to establish and maintain endowments for any of the foregoing purposes; to acquire by purchase, gift, devise or otherwise, and to hold real and personal estate so far as may be necessary in carrying out its lawful purposes; and to mortgage, sell, lease or otherwise dispose of any real or personal estate according to law.

Section 3. The corporation hereby created shall have all the powers and be subject to all the restrictions which now or hereafter may pertain by law to membership corporations in so far as the same are applicable to and not inconsistent with the provisions of this act.

Section 4. The acts done by the above named persons on the twenty-seventh day of December, nineteen hundred and fifteen, in adopting by-laws, electing officers and passing resolutions so far as they are consistent with this act are hereby ratified and declared to be valid.

Section 5. This act shall take effect immediately.

CONSTITUTION[1]

ARTICLE I

NAME

Section 1. This corporation shall be known as the AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

ARTICLE II

OBJECTS

Section 1. The particular objects for which the corporation is to be formed are: to promote and stimulate historical study and research generally, but particularly in the department of Church History; to discover, collect and preserve historical manuscripts; to print, publish, and cause to be distributed, papers, books, writings, reports, articles and data bearing on or in anywise relating to Church History or containing the results of the researches or other activities of its members; to establish and maintain traveling fellowships to carry out or to maintain any of the foregoing purposes; to hold conventions or meetings of its members; to establish and maintain a library; to establish and maintain endowments for any of the foregoing purposes; to acquire by purchase, gift, devise or otherwise, and to hold real and personal property so far as may be necessary in carrying out its lawful purposes; and to mortgage, sell, lease or otherwise dispose of any real or personal estate according to law.

ARTICLE III

MEMBERS

Section 1. The members of each class shall have equal rights and privileges in the corporation.

[1] Approved by the Council, May 15, 1915, and adopted by the Society, December 27, 1915.

Section 2. Candidates for membership shall be proposed by one member and seconded by another, and shall be elected by the Council. On receipt of an application for membership with proposer and seconder, the Secretary shall send the name of such candidate to each member of the Council and on receipt of letters of approval of such candidate from a majority of the members of the Council, such candidate shall, upon payment of dues for one year,[1] become and be entitled to all the rights and privileges of members of the corporation.

Section 3. All persons interested in Church History shall be eligible to membership.

ARTICLE IV

MANAGEMENT

Section 1. The management of the corporation shall be in the board of directors, which shall be called the Council and which shall consist of the officers enumerated in Article "V" hereof, the ex-Presidents, and two other members to be elected annually. Whenever the number of persons so constituting the Council shall exceed the number of directors permitted by the Charter, then the ex-President who has been longest out of office shall cease automatically to be a member of the Council; and if the number still remaining be greater than permitted, the next ex-President who has been longest out of office shall automatically cease to be a member of the Council. Vacancies in the Council shall be filled by the members thereof until the next annual meeting. Whenever the number of persons so constituting the Council shall be less than the total number required by the Charter, then the number of members elected to the Council at the annual meeting shall be increased so as to make the membership of the Council correspond with the requirements of the Charter.

Section 2. The Council shall have power to suspend or expel members of the corporation for cause and to restore them to

[1] The words, "upon payment of dues for one year," were added to this Section by an amendment adopted by the Society, December 27, 1920.

membership after a suspension or expulsion. No member shall be suspended or expelled without first having been given opportunity to be heard; but the Council shall strike from the roll of membership the name of any member who has failed to pay dues for three years, and thereafter such person shall cease to be a member of the corporation.[1]

Section 3. The property of the corporation shall be vested in, and the affairs of the corporation conducted by, the Council.

Section 4. The Council shall have no power to bind the corporation to any expenditure of money beyond the actual resources of the corporation, except by the consent of every member of the Council expressed in writing.

Section 5. The Council shall be charged with the general interests of the corporation including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers, the arrangement of programs, the determination of papers to be published and the auditing of the Treasurer's accounts.

ARTICLE V

OFFICERS

Section 1. The officers of the corporation shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary and a Treasurer, who shall be elected by ballot for the term of one year at the annual meeting of the members. No President shall be elected to succeed himself. Temporary officers shall be chosen by the incorporators to act until the first annual meeting of the members.

Section 2. Vacancies in any office may be filled by the Council.

ARTICLE VI

FEES AND DUES

Section 1. The annual dues for active members shall be Three Dollars; for sustaining members Ten Dollars. On pay-

[1] This Section of Article IV was amended by the Society, December 27, 1920, the amendment consisting in the removal, in the last sentence, of the period after the word "heard" and the addition of the clause now added after that word.

ment of One Hundred Dollars at any one time, any individual member, not a library, may become a life member exempt from dues.

ARTICLE VII

MEETINGS

Section 1. The annual meeting of the members of the corporation shall be held on the last Monday of December of each year. Notice thereof shall be sent by mail to each member at least two weeks prior thereto.

Section 2. Special meetings of the members may be called at any time by the Council.

Section 3. Ten members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business by the corporation, but a smaller number may sit for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

ARTICLE VIII

SEAL

Section 1. The seal of the corporation shall bear the name of the corporation in Latin, with the date of its foundation, together with an emblematic lamp, and the motto *Christiani nihil a me alienum puto.*

ARTICLE IX

AMENDMENTS

Section 1. This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of those present at any legally constituted annual meeting, provided that notice of such amendments shall be given in writing at the preceding annual meeting, or the amendment itself shall be approved by the Council before the meeting at which it shall be voted upon.

BY-LAWS[1]

ARTICLE I

MEMBERS AND PUBLICATIONS

Section 1. One copy of each of the publications which are issued after his election shall be sent to each member, who has paid dues at least once and is not in arrears for more than two years; but libraries shall be expected to pay dues only for those years in which the corporation publishes a volume.

ARTICLE II

THE COUNCIL

Section 1. The Council may make such rules for its own government as it may deem wise, but no such rules shall be inconsistent with the By-Laws and Constitution of the corporation. Five members of the Council shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

Section 2. The Council shall hold at least one meeting in each year, when it shall consider and act upon the names of candidates proposed for membership, and shall transact such other business as may legally come before it.

Section 3. The Council shall, at each annual meeting of the corporation, render a full report of its proceedings during the year last past.

ARTICLE III

DUTIES OF OFFICERS

Section 1. The President, or in his absence, the Vice-President, shall preside at all meetings of the Society. In the absence of these officers, the Society may choose a temporary President from the members present.

Section 2. The Secretary shall notify the members, at least two weeks in advance of each meeting; keep the minutes, and

[1] Adopted by the Society, December 27, 1915.

conduct the correspondence of the Society under the direction of the Council. The Secretary may also enroll the name of any library as a member on payment of its dues.

Section 3. The Treasurer shall send bills regularly to all members, take charge of the funds of the Society and invest and disburse them under the direction of the Council.

ARTICLE IV

PROCEDURE

Section 1. The order of business at any annual meeting shall, except when otherwise ordered, be the following:

Call to order.

Reading of minutes of previous annual and of any special meeting.

Annual report of the Council.

Reports of officers and annual reports of committees.

Unfinished business.

Election.

New business, including the reading of the Presidential Address and other papers.

Adjournment.

Section 2. The procedure at annual and special meetings of the corporation and of the annual meetings, where not otherwise provided for in the By-Laws, shall be governed by "Roberts' Rules of Order."

ARTICLE V

AMENDMENTS

Section 1. These By-Laws may be amended at any duly constituted meeting of the corporation by a two-thirds vote of the members present.

THE TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, 1918

THE American Society of Church History held its twelfth annual meeting in the Directors' Room of the Union Theological Seminary, Broadway at 120th Street, New York City, on December 30th, 1918.

MORNING SESSION

The meeting was called to order at about 10:45 A.M. by President Henry Bradford Washburn. Among those present during the session, besides the President, were the following members: E. P. Johnson, James I. Good, W. W. Rockwell, C. E. Corwin, E. S. Tipple, J. C. Ayer, Jr., J. A. Faulkner, W. N. Schwarze, J. C. Stout, H. J. Weber, E. M. North, E. W. Miller, F. J. Foakes Jackson, K. Kretzmann, Ephraim Emerton, Patrick J. Healy, T. B. Neeley, C. W. Heathcote, K. D. Macmillan, A. J. Sadler, and the Secretary; and also the following guests: Professor Murakawa, of the Imperial University in Tokio, Mr. K. Demura, Professor-elect of Church History in a Japanese institution, S. Suzuki, a graduate student at Union Theological Seminary, T. T. Lew, Professor-elect of Church History in the Nanking University, Nanking, China, Rev. Ross W. Collins, Rev. Augustus Steimle, Rev. Carl Zinsmeister, Rev. Plato T. Shaw, Rev. Dr. G. A. Wenner, and Dr. G. P. Brown, of the Christian Press Association.

The Presidential Address on *The Army Chaplain* was then read by Dr. Washburn. The paper was discussed by Messrs. Good, North, Corwin, E. P. Johnson, E. W. Miller, Kretzmann, Rockwell, and Washburn.

Professor Gifford's paper on *Wycliffe and the Independence*

of the Church in England was read, in the absence of the author, by Dr. Rockwell, and was discussed by Messrs. Emerton, Rockwell, Healy, Washburn, Ayer, Jackson, and Faulkner.

The third paper of the morning session was by Charles Edward Corwin on the subject of *The Introduction of the English Language into the Services of the Collegiate Dutch Church of New York.* It was discussed by Dr. Good.

At 1:15 the Society adjourned for lunch at the Faculty Club of Columbia University, where twenty-seven members and guests took lunch together.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The Society reconvened at 3:50 P.M. in the Directors' Room, President Washburn in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Joint Session at Philadelphia of the American Historical Association and the American Society of Church History, held December 28th, 1917, and the Minutes of the Annual Meeting in New York City, December 31st, 1917, were read by the Secretary and approved as read.

Among those present at the afternoon session were President Washburn, Messrs. Rockwell, Good, Faulkner, E. P. Johnson, Healy, Emerton, Macmillan, Neeley, Ayer, E. W. Miller, Heathcote, Lyttle, Foster, Kretzmann, and the Secretary.

The report of the Council was presented by the Secretary. The Secretary was instructed to cast a ballot for all nominees recommended by the Council. The following were then duly declared to be the officers for the ensuing year:

President, George Edwin Horr;
Vice-President, Robert Hastings Nichols;
Secretary, Frederick William Loetscher;
Treasurer, Henry James Weber.

Former Presidents as Members of Council:

Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr., James Isaac Good, John Alfred Faulkner, Edward Payson Johnson, David Schley Schaff, Henry Bradford Washburn.

Elected Members of Council:

James Coffin Stout, William Nathaniel Schwarze, Shirley Jackson Case, William Walker Rockwell, Ephraim Emerton.

(For the membership of the Standing Committees, see the Minutes of the Council of this same date, below, p. xxv*f*.)

In the Report of the Council the letter of Professor David Schley Schaff, D.D., donating $500 to the Society under certain specified conditions, was read in full, and the actions of the Council with respect thereto were formally ratified.[1]

The Report of the Treasurer was read and approved and referred to an Auditing Committee, consisting of Messrs. E. W. Miller and J. C. Ayer. It is as follows:

TREASURER'S REPORT, 1918

Receipts

Balance December 17, 1917	$697.24	
Dues 1915— 2 at $3.00	6.00	
Dues 1916— 2 at $3.00	6.00	
Dues 1917—30 at $3.00	90.00	
Dues 1918—99 at $3.00	297.00	
Dues 1918— 1 at $3.10	3.10	
Dues 1919— 1 at $3.00	3.00	
Dues 1917— 1 Sustaining Member	10.00	
Dues 1918— 8 Sustaining Members	80.00	
Sale of *Papers* through G. P. Putnam's Sons	76.00	
Sale of Volumes	7.80	
Interest from Bloomfield Trust Company	11.73	$1287.87

[1] See the Minutes of the Council of this same date, p. xxvi.

Disbursements

Postage	$ 49.62	
Printing Programs, etc.	117.65	
G. P. Putnam's Sons Vol. V. Papers	502.76	
Membership Committee Chairman (Disbursements) Stenographer, Stamps, etc.	59.18	
In Bank—Balance Dec. 17, 1918	558.66	$1287.87

(Signed) HENRY J. WEBER, *Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct: E. W. Miller, J. Cullen Ayer, Jr., December 30, 1918.

The Secretary submitted the following report:

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

In submitting his first report as Secretary to the Society the present incumbent of this office desires first of all to give public expression to his deep appreciation of the kindness of his predecessor, the Rev. Professor W. W. Rockwell, of Union Theological Seminary, in connection with the transfer of the records of the Society, and his valuable suggestions, arising out of his long service in this position, concerning the performance of its duties. As never before the Secretary has learned to estimate at something like their true worth Prof. Rockwell's ability and zeal in promoting the best interests of this corporation.

The Secretary has conducted the correspondence of the Society since the Special Meeting of the Council on February 16th, 1918, and has attended to the other duties of this office to the best of his ability.

The Secretary reports that during the year he has sold a copy of our Vol. V to Princeton Theological Seminary Library, and another to Western Theological Seminary Library (Pittsburgh), and that his predecessor sold a copy of the same volume to Brentano's,—all at the customary library rate of 80% of the retail price.

The Secretary has secured the insertion of the name of the Society, those of its officers, and other items of information per-

taining to the Society, in the lists of learned societies given in the Almanacs published by the *World*, the *Tribune* and the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*.

During the year three of our honored members have died, Dr. James F. Riggs, Dr. Matthew Kolyn, and Dr. Walter Rauschenbusch.

The Rev. James Forsyth Riggs, D.D., died on Thursday, January 24th, 1918, in the Orange Memorial Hospital, Orange, N. J. He was taken suddenly ill on January 12th and immediately removed to the hospital to undergo an operation. Some days after the operation he suffered a relapse from which he was unable to rally.

Dr. Riggs was born at Smyrna, Turkey, on October 4th, 1852, the son of the late Elias Riggs, D.D., LL.D., and Martha (Dalzell) Riggs. The father was one of the pioneer missionaries in Turkey in the service of the American Board of Comissioners for Foreign Missions, and was well known as the translator of the Scriptures into Turkish and Bulgarian. Our Dr. Riggs was descended from a long line of ministers of the Gospel, and several of his nieces and nephews have been prominent as missionaries and educators in various parts of the Turkish Empire.

The boy was prepared for college by his parents at Constantinople. Entering the sophomore class at Princeton, he was graduated in 1872. The next year he spent in graduate study, as the holder of the Boudinot Historical Fellowship at Princeton, and he continued his studies for some time thereafter under the direction of his father at Athens and Constantinople. On his return to this country in 1874, he taught school for a year, and then became a student of divinity at the Union Theological Seminary, N. Y., where he completed his course in 1878.

Following his ordination to the ministry, he entered that same year upon his first pastorate, that of the First Presbyterian Church of Cranford, N. J. After a service of six years in this field, he accepted a call to the (Dutch) Reformed Church of Bergen Point, N. J. His pastorate here continued till 1892, when he resigned to become Professor of New Testament Greek at the New Brunswick Theological Seminary. He occupied this chair till 1898, when he re-entered pastoral work by accepting

a call to the Brick Presbyterian Church of East Orange, N. J., a position which he filled till his death.

During this pastorate of almost twenty years Dr. Riggs was prominent in the work of the Presbytery of Morris and Orange, serving a term as Moderator of this body, and being also chairman of its Committee on Ministerial Relief, as well as of its Committee on the American Bible Society.

Dr. Riggs was also a member of the American Historical Association, a Director of the Bloomfield Theological Seminary, and a member of the Versions Committee of the American Bible Society. He was the founder of the Greek Club of Essex County, N. J., a fact that commemorates his life-long and zealous devotion to the study of the Greek classics. He was a recognized authority on affairs in the Turkish Empire. In 1892 Rutgers College conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.

In 1878 Dr. Riggs married Miss Belle Brittin, of Madison, N. J., who with two sons and two daughters survives him.[1]

The Rev. Matthew Kolyn, D.D., died suddenly on May 13th, 1918, in Muskegon, Mich., whither he had gone to preach on Sunday, the day before.

Born at Franklin, Wis., on June 23d, 1856, the youth received his education in the schools of western Michigan, whither the family had removed, and at Hope College, where he graduated in 1877. He studied divinity at the New Brunswick Theological Seminary, graduating in 1880. He served congregations successively at Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., Marion, N. Y., Spring Lake, Mich., Kalamazoo, Mich., Orange City, Ia., and Grand Rapids, Mich. For three years he was principal of the Northwestern Classical Academy at Orange City, Ia. In 1910 he accepted a call to the chair of Church History at the Western Theological Seminary, at Grand Rapids, Mich., a position which he filled with fidelity and success to the time of his death.

One who knew him long and well writes concerning him: "He was a man of whom we all could say, he was wholly given to his work as a preacher of the Gospel and to the work of his Church.

[1] See *Who's Who in America*, Vol. x, and *The Princeton Alumni Weekly* (March 13, 1918).

While in the West he was connected with our Academy at Orange City, Ia., and after his return to Michigan he was a zealous friend of our educational work at Holland, especially the Seminary, where he completed his work. All who knew him honored him for his genial character and his unceasing devotion to the work as God called him to it. During all his ministry he was one of the leaders in our mission work, especially on our foreign fields."

The Rev. Walter Rauschenbusch was born at Rochester, N. Y., on October 4th, 1861, and died in that city on July 25th, 1918. His father was the Rev. Augustus Rauschenbusch, who came to this country from Germany as one of the many who in the forties of the last century sought here the freedom of thought and speech that was so hard to secure in their native land. The son enjoyed an excellent classical education at the *Gymnasium* of Gütersloh, Germany, where he graduated in 1883 with first honors. The next year he became a bachelor of arts of the University of Rochester. He was a graduate of Rochester Theological Seminary in the class of 1886. The years 1891–2 and 1907–8 he spent in study abroad. Ordained to the Baptist ministry in the year 1886, he was for eleven years the pastor of the Second German Baptist Church in the city of New York, where his labors were marked by great sacrificial devotion to the needs of the poor, especially the immigrants from Germany. In 1897 he returned to Rochester and remained there for twenty-one years in his work in the Seminary, serving this institution first as professor of the New Testament, and then, since 1902, as professor of Church History. In 1902 his *Alma Mater*, and in 1916 Oberlin College, conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

His influence was widely extended not only by his notable literary works but also by his frequent acceptance of invitations to deliver popular addresses, especially on the social aspects of the Christian message,—a field in which, in spite of some excessive zeal, he may fittingly be called a worthy pioneer. Among his more important books, some of which have been translated into several tongues, mention may be made of the following: *Life of Jesus* (1895); *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (1907); *Prayers of the Social Awakening* (1910); *Christianizing of the*

Social Order (1912); *Unto Me* (1912); *Dare We Be Christians?* (1914); *Social Principles of Jesus* (1916); *A Theology for the Social Gospel* (1917). He also contributed the section on the United States in Krueger's *Church History* (1909).

In 1910 Professor Rauschenbusch was Earl Lecturer in the Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Cal.; in 1911, Merrick Lecturer in Ohio Wesleyan University; in 1914, Gates Lecturer in Grinnell College, Iowa; and in 1917, Taylor Lecturer in Yale University.

A former colleague, Dr. Woelfkin, has said of him:

"He saw and felt the unequal burdens of human life. His sympathies were with those whom birth, circumstances and condition had thrown under the wheels of misfortune. Like every true prophet he had a strong faith and hope in the betterment of things and he flung mind, heart and soul into that sacrificial service. His heart beat with the pulse of his Master, who saw, heard and knew the burdens of the people and he gladly offered himself in the service of their redemption. . . . His was one of the first voices to proclaim the social emphasis of the Gospel and perhaps the very first to attempt a theological thesis which would include the new horizon of the glad tidings."

Respectfully submitted,

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER,
Secretary.

The Editorial Committee reported through the Secretary that the publication of Volume VI of the *Papers* was delayed owing to the late arrival of some of the copy. It was hoped that the volume would appear early in 1919.

The Committee on Endowment through its chairman, Dr. Loetscher, reported progress, as did also the Committee on Conference with the Scandinavian Foundation through its chairman, Dr. Rockwell. On motion it was resolved to continue these two committees.

The Auditing Committee reported that it had examined the Treasurer's accounts and found them correct. The report of the Committee was approved.

At 4:30 the first paper of the afternoon was read by President Kerr Duncan Macmillan, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y., on the subject: *Modern Germany the Consummation of the Middle Age.* The paper was discussed by a number of those present.

Patrick Joseph Healy, of the Catholic University, Washington, D. C., then read his paper on the theme: *Recent Activities of Catholic Historians.* After some discussion of the paper it was resolved that this paper be published in the forthcoming volume of our *Papers.*[1]

The hour for dinner having arrived, the members of the Society and their guests, sixteen in number, repaired to the Faculty Club of Columbia University at 6:15 P.M.

EVENING SESSION

At 7:35 President Washburn called the meeting to order at the Faculty Club. Those present, besides the President, were Messrs. Ayer, Rockwell, E. P. Johnson, Heathcote, Healy, Pannkoke, Good, Kieffer, Faulkner, Macmillan, Foster, Lyttle, Kretzmann, Tryon, and the Secretary, together with the following guests: Rev. William F. Schoenfeld and Dr. Gilbert P. Brown, both of New York.

The first paper of the evening was then read by Charles William Heathcote, of the Temple University, Philadelphia, on the subject: *The Lutheran Church since the Civil War.* A general discussion of the paper took place, in which nearly all those present participated.

The last paper of the day, by Juergen Ludwig Neve, of the Hamma Divinity School of Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio, on *Lutheranism in Germany under the Church Policy of the Hohenzollerns*, was read, in the absence of the author, by the Rev. O. H. Pannkoke, and was followed by a general discussion.

The committee appointed by the Council at the afternoon

[1] See Vol. vi, pp. 203–217.

session, consisting of the President and the Secretary, to draw up a suitable minute in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Philip Schaff, reported as follows:

Your Committee appointed to draw up a suitable minute in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Philip Schaff would respectfully submit the following:

In recognition of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Philip Schaff which occurs on January 1st, 1919, the Society places on record its profound gratitude for a life long in years and rich in character and influence. It wishes to record its particular gratitude for the generous personal interest taken by Dr. Schaff in the founding and development of the American Society of Church History. As individuals, and as members of this Society those of us who have been Dr. Schaff's pupils and those of us who, though not enjoying this privilege, have read and valued his books, wish here to record our respect, admiration, and affection for a helpful Christian scholar; and we express the hope that the Society may continue in the spirit in which it was founded by Dr. Schaff and may become of increasing value to the students of Church History in our country.

Respectfully submitted,

Henry Bradford Washburn,
Frederick William Loetscher.

The report of the committee was approved, and it was voted that a copy of the minute be sent to Dr. David S. Schaff.

The Secretary was instructed to send to Dr. Schaff a telegram to inform him of the acceptance by the Society, with its sincere thanks, of his gift of $500, and to convey to him its hearty felicitations and good wishes.

It was voted to convey the thanks of the Society to the Union Theological Seminary for its continued hospitality.

The Minutes of this meeting were read and approved.

Attest: Frederick William Loetscher,
Secretary.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL, DECEMBER 30th, 1918

THE Council of the American Society of Church History met in the Directors' Room of Union Theological Seminary, New York City, in accordance with a previous call of the President, at 2:30 P.M., Monday, December 30, 1918. President Washburn was in the chair, and the following other members were present: Messrs. Ayer, Good, Faulkner, Rockwell, Schwarze, Stout, Weber, and the Secretary.

The Minutes of the last meeting, namely the Special Meeting held in New York, February 16, 1918, were read and approved.

It was voted that Dr. Rockwell consult an attorney in behalf of the Society to determine the legal bearings of the question concerning the dropping of members in arrears, and to report to the Council at its next meeting; and that if any fees be charged for this service, the Treasurer be authorized to pay them.

The Council formally ratified the elections of the following members made by circular letter in 1918: Professor E. F. Albertsworth, of Washington, D. C., Rev. Louis F. Benson, D.D., of Philadelphia, Rev. Arthur L. Gray, D.D., of New York City, Rev. Charles F. MacFarland, D.D., of New York City; and Princeton Theological Seminary Library, Princeton, N. J., and McCormick Theological Seminary Library, Chicago, Ill.

The Secretary was authorized to exchange the Society's publications for those of the *Historisch Genootschap gevestigd te Utrecht.*

The appointment by the President and Secretary of Dr. E. P. Johnson to represent the Society at the celebration

of the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of Auburn Theological Seminary in October, 1918, was ratified and approved.

The resignations of the following members were accepted with regret: Rev. Thomas Burgess, Rev. W. L. Greene, Rev. George W. Douglas, D.D.

The following new members were elected on nominations duly made and seconded:

1. Rev. P. G. Mode, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Church History, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
2. Rev. Augustus Steimle, D.D., Pastor of the Lutheran Church of the Advent, New York City.
3. Rev. Alfred Bergin, Ph.D., Lindsborg, Kansas.
4. Rt. Rev. Maurice M. Hassett, D.D., Shamokin, Pa.
5. Rev. Joseph M. Eagen, Professor of Church History in Dunwoodie Seminary, Yonkers, N. Y.
6. Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D.D., Rector of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.
7. Timothy Tingfang Lew, B.D., Professor-elect in Nanking Theological Seminary, Nanking, China.
8. Alexander Fraser, LL.D., Litt.D., Legislative Library, Toronto, Canada.
9. Norman MacDonald, Lecturer in History in the University of Winnipeg, Manitoba.
10. Rev. Dr. John MacLean, Archivist-elect of the Methodist Church in Canada, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
11. Rev. Prof. Arthur Adams, Ph.D., Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
12. Rev. J. H. Horstmann, Eden Publishing House, St. Louis, Mo.
13. Rev. Professor John F. Krueger, Ph.D., Western Theological Seminary, Atchison, Kansas.
14. Rev. George U. Wenner, D.D., Pastor of Christ Church, New York.

15. Rev. George L. Kieffer, Rosedale, Long Island.
16. Rev. E. E. Stringfellow, Associate Professor of Church History, Drake University, Des Moines, Ia.
17. Rev. Robert L. Tucker, Ph.D., New Haven, Conn.
18. Eden Seminary Library, St. Louis, Mo.

The Council acted as a nominating committee and nominated the following officers and committees for the ensuing year:

President, George Edwin Horr;
Vice-President, Robert Hastings Nichols;
Secretary, Frederick William Loetscher;
Treasurer, Henry James Weber.

According to the Constitution the following *Former Presidents* are also members of the Council for 1919:

Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr., James I. Good, John Alfred Faulkner, Edward Payson Johnson, David Schley Schaff, Henry Bradford Washburn. The following are the *Elected Members* of the Council for 1919: James C. Stout, William N. Schwarze, Shirley J. Case, William W. Rockwell, Ephraim Emerton.

The Secretary was instructed to inform Dr. Nichols of the circumstances concerning his re-election as Vice-President.

It was voted to constitute the standing committees as follows:

Editorial Committee: Messrs. Faulkner, Chairman; E. P. Johnson, Washburn, and the Secretary.

Membership Committee: Dr. Rockwell, Chairman; the Secretary, and the Treasurer.

Endowment Committee: Dr. Washburn, Chairman; Dr. Walker, Dr. Rockwell, Mr. Pannkoke, and the Secretary, who requested to be relieved of the responsibilities of the chairmanship.

Committee on Conference with the American-Scandinavian Foundation: W. W. Rockwell, Chairman; Henry Goddard Leach, J. G. Hammerskold, Alfred O. Fonkalsrud.

It was moved and carried that the hearty thanks of the Society be sent to the Rev. Allen Dudley Severance as the first life member of the Society, and that Dr. Rockwell, the Committee on the Seal of the Society, secure a suitable certificate for life membership.

It was voted that the Council recommend to the Society that all payments for life membership be considered contributions to the Endowment Fund of the American Society of Church History.

The following letter from Dr. Schaff was read:

737 Ridge Ave., Pittsburgh,
December 23, 1918.

The Revd. Henry Bradford Washburn, D.D., President of the American Society of Church History.

My dear Dr. Washburn:

The One Hundredth Anniversary of the birth of Philip Schaff, my father, falls on January 1, 1919.

I am anxious to commemorate the event in some fitting way. After much reflection I have concluded to give to the American Society of Church History the sum of $500 to be held as a fund, the interest to be used for such purpose as the Society may determine. Only, neither principal nor interest shall be used for the Society's current expenses. I also will stipulate that, in case the Society cease to exist as a separate organization, the fund shall be at once turned over to the Directors of the Union Theological Seminary with instruction to use the amount it represents (now $500) for the purchase of books bearing on the history of the Church in the United States.

The Society, as you well know, was brought into being by the effort of Dr. Schaff and he hoped for it much usefulness in promoting the study of Church History among us and especially

the study of American Church History. Its membership represents its catholic temper.

The amount of the gift will be sent on as soon as the Society at its forthcoming meeting votes upon accepting my gift and I am instructed to whom I shall send it.

I am sending you a letter somewhat personal in its import in connection with this.

I am,

Very truly yours,

(Signed) DAVID S. SCHAFF.

It was voted to accept the gift of Dr. Schaff, under the terms specified in the foregoing letter, with the thanks of the Society, and the Secretary was instructed to convey the thanks of the Society to the donor.

It was resolved that the question of the use of this gift in accordance with the terms specified be referred to the Endowment Committee for consideration and report to the Council.

The program for the meeting for 1919 was referred to the Editorial Committee with power, and Dr. Rockwell was appointed as a Committee on Local Arrangements.

It was ordered that the President and the Secretary be a committee to draw up a suitable minute to be spread upon the records in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Philip Schaff.

The Minutes of this meeting of the Council were read and approved as read.

On motion the Council adjourned.

Attest: FREDERICK WILLIAM LOETSCHER,
Secretary.

THE THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, 1919

THE American Society of Church History held its thirteenth annual meeting in the Directors' Room of the Union Theological Seminary, Broadway at 120th Street, New York City, on December 29th, 1919.

MORNING SESSION

The meeting was called to order at 10:25 A.M. by President George Edwin Horr.

Prayer was offered by Dr. John A. Faulkner.

Among those present, besides the President, were the following members: Arthur H. Hirsch, John A. Carr, Peter Ainslee, William W. Barnes, Wallace N. Stearns, Patrick J. Healy, William A. Gifford, Augustus Steimle, Karl Kretzmann, Jesse Johnson, W. Vivian Moses, Preserved Smith, Robert H. Nichols, Henry J. Weber, Edward P. Johnson, David S. Schaff, James I. Good, J. A. Faulkner, Henry B. Washburn, W. W. Rockwell, E. Emerton, E. L. Hood, J. C. Stout, F. J. Foakes Jackson, F. W. Loetscher.

The following guests, some of whom were later elected to membership in the Society, were also present: Harold M. Buehler, Hugo C. M. Wendel, Frank Kovach, P. E. Shaw, Finis S. Idleman, H. T. Weiskotten, Ernest F. Scott, Charles A. Hawley, Richard W. Heintze, Walter H. Stowe, H. B. Kerschner.

The following members sent regrets for inability to attend the meeting: W. O. Ruston, E. S. Worcester, J. C. Ayer, Jr.

Professor Rockwell was appointed Secretary *pro tem*, and made some announcements in regard to the arrangements for the meeting and for the luncheon and the dinner.

President George E. Horr, of Newton Theological Institution, Newton Centre, Mass., then read the Presidential Address on *The Influence of the War on Church History*. The paper was discussed by Drs. Good, Faulkner, Washburn, and Rockwell.

Professor Ephraim Emerton, of Harvard University, then read a paper entitled "*The Defensor Pacis*" *of Marsiglio of Padua*. In the discussion of the paper the following persons took part: Drs. Faulkner, Nichols, Washburn, Schaff, and Emerton.

The third paper of the morning was by Professor Henry Arthur Hirsch, of Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O., on the subject *Some Phases of the Anglican-Huguenot Rivalries in South Carolina prior to 1730*. The paper was discussed by Messrs. Good, Horr, Rockwell, and Hood.

At 12:45 the Society adjourned for luncheon at the Faculty Club of Columbia University, where twenty-two members and guests were present.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The Society reconvened in the Directors' Room of Union Theological Seminary at 3:30 P.M., President Horr being in the chair.

Those present were: G. E. Horr, J. A. Faulkner, R. L. Kelly, Bishop Neely, H. J. Weber, C. W. Heathcote, E. Emerton, K. Kretzmann, Dr. and Mrs. Preserved Smith, Hiram Van Kirk, M. G. G. Scherer, George L. Kieffer, Hugo C. M. Wendel, O. H. Pannkoke, E. P. Johnson, W. V. Moses, W. N. Stearns, Jesse Johnson, J. I. Good, F. J. Foakes Jackson, R. H. Nichols, W. W. Rockwell, and the Secretary.

The Minutes of the last annual meeting, of December 30th, 1918, were read and approved.

The Secretary reported all the actions taken by the Council of the Society, and these were all ratified and approved, including the nominations for the officers of the Society for the ensuing year. Accordingly the President declared the following to be the duly elected officers and Council members for the ensuing year:

President, Robert Hastings Nichols;
Vice-President, Ephraim Emerton;
Secretary, Frederick William Loetscher;
Treasurer, Henry James Weber.

Former Presidents as Members of Council:

Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr., James Isaac Good, John Alfred Faulkner, Edward Payson Johnson, David Schley Schaff, Henry Bradford Washburn, George Edwin Horr.

Elected Members of Council:

James Coffin Stout, William Nathaniel Schwarze, Shirley Jackson Case, William Walter Rockwell.

(For the membership of the Standing and Special Committees of the Society, see the Minutes of the Council of this same date below, p. xxxix.)

The Treasurer's Report was read by the Treasurer, Dr. Weber, and it was voted to have it audited by a committee appointed by the President, and to have it published in our proceedings when the auditors will have approved it. The auditors appointed were Dr. Nichols and Dr. E. P. Johnson. The Report is as follows:

TREASURER'S REPORT 1919

Bloomfield, N. J., December 9, 1919.

Receipts

Balance Dec. 17, 1918	$558.66
Dues 1916— 3 at $3.00	9.00

Dues 1917— 3 at $3.00	$ 9.00	
Dues 1918— 15 at $3.00	45.00	
Dues 1919—114 at $3.00	342.00	
Dues 1919—6 Sustaining Members	60.00	
Sale of Volumes through G. P. Putnam's Sons	12.56	
	$1036.22	
Prof. Allen Severance—Life Membership	100.00	
Prof. David S. Schaff—Endowment Fund	500.00	
Interest—Bloomfield Trust Co.	39.03	$1675.25

Disbursements

Postage	$13.50	
Programs, Printing, etc.	18.60	
Chairman Membership Committee, Postage, etc.	43.84	
In Bank—Balance Dec. 9, 1919	1599.31	$1675.25
Receipts	1636.22	
Interest	39.03	$1675.25
Disbursements		75.94
Bank Balance Dec. 9, 1919		$1599.31
Less—Endowment Fund		618.00
		$981.31

Endowment Fund

Prof. A. Severance—Life Membership	$100.00	
Prof. David S. Schaff—Endowment Fund	500.00	
Interest for year 1918–1919	18.00	$618.00

HENRY W. WEBER, *Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct, Dec. 29, 1919.
Robert Hastings Nichols.
Edward P. Johnson.

The Secretary reported that he performed the duties of his office during the past year to the best of his ability;

called attention to the passing of two members since the last meeting, Professor Henry Morse Stephens, M.A., Litt. D., Professor of History, University of California, Berkeley, Cal., who died on April 16th, 1919, and the Rev. William F. Schoenfeld, D.D., Pastor of the Immanuel Church, Lexington Ave. and 88th Street, New York, who died on July 30th, 1919; and referred to the fact that the present membership of the Society numbers 189 members, including 9 library members.

The Editorial Committee reported through the Secretary that the publication of Volume vi of our *Papers* has been delayed by the fact that one of the papers to be published in this number has not yet come to the Committee.

The Endowment Committee, through its Chairman, Dr. Washburn, reported progress.

The Committee on Conference with the American-Scandinavian Foundation requested, through its Chairman, that it be allowed to report at a later time during the day, which request was granted.

At this point it was resolved that Dr. Robert L. Kelly, representing some phases of the work of the Inter-Church World Movement be given the floor for ten minutes. On motion it was decided that the appointment of a committee of three for conference with the Inter-Church Movement as represented by Dr. Kelly be referred to the evening session for discussion and action.

It was voted to postpone to the evening session the consideration of the problem of securing an endowment for the Society.

At 4:30 the Society returned to the completion of its literary program for the day. Professor Charles William Heathcote, of Temple University, Philadelphia, read a paper on *The Lutheran Church—North and South—during the Civil War*. Owing to lack of time the discussion of this paper was omitted, and the Society then listened to the last paper

of the session. This was by Professor John Alfred Faulkner, of Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J., on the subject *Luther and Culture*. The paper was briefly reviewed by Dr. Preserved Smith.

On motion it was decided to re-consider the earlier action of the Society in regard to the appointment of a committee to co-operate with the Educational Section of the Inter-Church Movement represented by Dr. Kelly, and it was then voted that the Endowment Committee of the Society should consider whether and how, within our limits as a Society, we may co-operate with the Educational Section of the Inter-Church Movement.

At 6: 15 P.M. the Secretary had to leave the session, and W. W. Rockwell was chosen Secretary *pro tem.*

As Chairman of the Committee on Conference with the American-Scandinavian Foundation Prof. Rockwell reported that during the year his Committee had no formal session; but that on Thursday, December 18, he was invited to attend a meeting of the Committee on Publications of the American-Scandinavian Foundation held at the Yale Club, New York City. The three members of that Committee present were President W. H. Schofield, Secretary H. G. Leach, and Professor W. W. Lawrence of Columbia University. Dr. Leach reported briefly concerning the interest in the project of a church history of the Scandinavian peoples shown by leading church historians of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, several of whom have written letters of which he has sent copies to our own Committee. The action of the Committee on Publications of the American-Scandinavian Foundation is shown in the following extract from their minutes of December 18, 1919:

"Professor Rockwell, representing the American Society of Church History, met with the Committee to study plans for the Church History. The Committee voted to publish a one-volume history of the Church in Scandinavia, about 600 pages:

(a) Iceland to be included under Norway, and Finland under Sweden;
(b) Editorial supervision to be in the hands of the American Society of Church History;
(c) Two hundred dollars cash to be offered to each of the three Scandinavian scholars invited to write text;
(d) The material not to appear in the Scandinavian original before the English translation;
(e) Other scholars to be added to the joint committee;
(f) The American Society to subscribe to a certain number of volumes, and various Lutheran synods in this country to a certain number of volumes."

The Society gave its general approval of the above proposals but referred details to its own Committee on Conference with the American-Scandinavian Foundation for further negotiations and action. The Committee on Conference was given power to add to its numbers.

After consultation with F. X. Carmody, Esq., the lawyer who drafted our Constitution, W. W. Rockwell submitted the following Constitutional amendments to be voted on at the annual meeting in December, 1920:

"Resolved that Article IV, Section 2 of the Constitution of the American Society of Church History be amended by striking out the period at the end thereof and adding thereto the following:

"*; but the Council shall strike from the roll of membership the name of any member who has failed to pay dues for three years, and thereafter such person shall cease to be a member of the Corporation.*"

Resolved that Article III, Section 2 of the Constitution of the American Society of Church History be amended by inserting in the second line from the end thereof after the word "shall" and before the word "become" the following:

"*upon payment of dues for one year.*"

For the Auditors, R. H. Nichols reported that they had

examined the Treasurer's accounts and reports and found them correct. The Society accepted the report.

On motion a vote of thanks to Union Theological Seminary for its kind hospitality was unanimously passed.

The Secretary *pro tem.* read the minutes that he had taken, and the Society approved them and gave him leave to complete them for transmission to the Secretary.

On motion at 6:20 P.M. the Society adjourned for the evening session to be held at the Faculty Club of Columbia University.

Attest: WM. WALKER ROCKWELL,
Secretary pro tem.

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER,
Secretary.

At half past six o'clock twelve members of the Society dined together at the Faculty Club of Columbia University. Grace was said by Dr. Faulkner. Those present were Vice-President Nichols, J. A. Faulkner, E. P. Johnson, W. A. Gifford, H. B. Washburn, G. L. Kieffer, O. H. Pannkoke, Carl Kretzmann, J. I. Good, Augustus Steimle, W. W. Rockwell and Philip Mosher.

EVENING SESSION

At 7:45 P.M. the Vice-President called the meeting to order. Dr. Rockwell was elected Secretary *pro tem.* Those present were the twelve above mentioned, together with W. W. Barnes.

There ensued a discussion of the plans of the Society, particularly as regards the endowment of the organization.

At 7:58 a brief recess was taken in order that the Council might meet to transact business.

At the close of this recess W. W. Rockwell gave a synopsis of the first four chapters of his expanded paper entitled

"The Aims and Needs of the American Society of Church History in the Light of European Experience." He then read the concluding chapter in its provisional form, to gain the criticisms and suggestions of those present. These suggestions concerned chiefly the methods of securing the endowment.

Toward the close of the discussion former president Washburn took the chair. The Secretary *pro tem.* then read the Minutes and it was voted to give him authority to complete them for transmission to the Secretary.

At 9:45 the meeting adjourned.

Attest: WM. WALKER ROCKWELL,
Secretary pro tem.
FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER,
Secretary.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL, DECEMBER 29th, 1919

THE Council of the American Society of Church History met at Union Theological Seminary, New York City, in accordance with a previous call of the President, on Monday, December 29th, 1919, at 1 P.M. President George Edwin Horr presided, and the other members present were: J. I. Good, J. C. Stout, E. Emerton, H. B. Washburn, H. J. Weber, D. S. Schaff, W. W. Rockwell, J. A. Faulkner, E. P. Johnson, R. H. Nichols, and the Secretary.

The Minutes of the last meeting of the Council were read and approved as read.

The resignations of J. H. Robinson and H. H. Guy as members of the Society were accepted with regret.

The elections of the following members of the Society who, in accordance with constitutional provisions, had become entitled to the privileges of members during the current year, were ratified:

Arthur W. Nagler, Ph.D., Instructor in Garret Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.

Rev. Hiram Van Kirk, Ph.D., Rector of St. Luke's Church, Noroton, Conn.

Prof. William W. Barnes, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas.

Rev. William F. Schoenfeld, D.D., Pastor of the Immanuel Church, New York City.

Rev. President L. W. Boe, St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minn.

Rev. O. M. Norlie, Ph.D., Book Editor of the Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis, Minn.

Rev. Carl M. Weswig, Lutheran Theological Seminary, St. Paul, Minn.

On motion duly made and seconded the following persons were elected into the membership of the Society:

1. Prof. Ko Demura, North College, Sendai, Japan.
2. Prof. Clarence Mackinnon, Presbyterian College, Halifax, N. S.
3. Prof. Hugo C. M. Wendel, New York University, University Heights, New York City.
4. Rev. D. E. Pratt, Howard University, Washington, D. C.
5. Rev. Edward S. Worcester, 148 Langdon St., Madison, Wis.
6. Dr. Matthew Spinka, Professor of Church History at the Central Theological Seminary, Dayton, O.
7. Prof. Ernest F. Scott, Union Theological Seminary, New York City.
8. Rev. H. T. Weiskotten, Summit, N. J.
9. Rev. Professor Henry D. Funk, Professor of History at Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn.
10. Ross W. Collins, B.D., Assistant in the Department of Church History, Union Theological Seminary, New York City.
11. Rev. Harlan G. Mendenhall, D.D., New York City.
12. Professor E. F. George, Evangelical Theological Seminary, Naperville, Ill.
13. Professor K. Lake, D.D., Professor of Early Christian Literature, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
14. Rev. Prof. Richard W. Heintze, Concordia Institute, Bronxville, New York.

It was voted that the Treasurer be authorized and directed to keep the endowment funds of the Society in a separate account.

On motion the Council adjourned to meet again at 2:45 this afternoon.

At 2:45 in the afternoon the Council met in adjourned session, President Horr in the chair.

The Council acted as a nominating committee and nominated the following officers for the ensuing year:

President, Robert Hastings Nichols;

Vice-President, Ephraim Emerton;

Secretary, Frederick William Loetscher;

Treasurer, Henry James Weber.

Also, in accordance with the Constitution, the following *Former Presidents* were nominated as members of the Council:

Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr., James Isaac Good, John Alfred Faulkner, Edward Payson Johnson, David Schley Schaff, Henry Bradford Washburn, George Edwin Horr.

The following were nominated to serve as the *Elected Members of the Council* for 1920:

James Coffin Stout, William Nathaniel Schwarze, Shirley Jackson Case, William Walker Rockwell.

The following standing committees were constituted by vote of the Council:

Editorial Committee: Dr. Horr, Chairman; Dr. E. P. Johnson, Dr. Washburn, and the Secretary.

Membership Committee: Dr. Rockwell, Chairman; the Secretary, and the Treasurer.

Endowment Committee: Dr. Good, Chairman; Dr. Rockwell, Dr. Walker, Dr. Washburn, and Mr. Pannkoke.

Committee on Conference with the American-Scandinavian Foundation: Dr. Rockwell, Chairman; H. G. Leach, J. G. Hammarsköld, A. O. Fonkalsrud (with such other members as this Committee may appoint).

It was voted that the program for the next annual meeting of the Society be committed with power to the Editorial Committee, and that Dr. Rockwell be authorized to make the local arrangements for this meeting.

Dr. Rockwell reported that he gave a volume of our

Papers to Monsignor Baudrillart, Rector of the Catholic University of Paris.

Professor Walter L. Lingle, of Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Va., was elected to membership in the Society, the election being termed a conditional one, in view of the inability of any present member to inform the Council whether or not Prof. Lingle was already a member.

The Council then adjourned to meet, in case of need, at the call of the President.

Attest: FREDERICK WILLIAM LOETSCHER,
Secretary.

The Council, adjourned to meet at the call of the Chair, was called to order at the Faculty Club of Columbia University at 7: 58 P.M. on the above date.

Vice-President Nichols took the chair, and W. W. Rockwell was elected Secretary *pro tem.*

Those present were R. H. Nichols, J. A. Faulkner, J. I. Good, E. P. Johnson, W. W. Rockwell, H. B. Bradburn.

On motion of W. W. Rockwell, duly seconded, the Rev. M. G. G. Scherer, D.D., was elected to membership in the Society.

On motion the Council adjourned.

Attest: WM. WALKER ROCKWELL,
Secretary pro tem.,
FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER,
Secretary.

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, 1920

THE American Society of Church History held its fourteenth annual meeting in the Directors' Room of the Union Theological Seminary, Broadway at 120th Street, New York City, on December 27th, 1920.

MORNING SESSION

The meeting was called to order at 10: 30 A.M. by President Robert Hastings Nichols.

Prayer was offered by Dr. John A. Faulkner.

Those present were: R. H. Nichols, J. C. Ayer, F. W. Loetscher, J. I. Good, G. W. Richards, E. Emerton, E. P. Johnson, J. A. Faulkner, J. Carter, A. B. Keep, G. U. Wenner, R. W. Heintze, K. Kretzmann, A. J. Sadler, J. G. Hammarsköld, H. D. Foster, H. T. Weiskotten, A. C. McGiffert, E. L. Hood, P. Smith, H. J. Weber, D. B. Pratt, G. L. Kieffer, W. H. Allison, P. Ainslee, W. J. Hinke, W. W. Rockwell, W. W. Sweet; and the following guests: P. E. Shaw, S. Rees.

The following presented excuses for absence, and they were on motion excused: S. J. Case, H. B. Washburn, H. G. Leach, W. N. Schwarze, and T. B. Neely.

The literary session of the Society was opened by Professor Robert Hastings Nichols, of Auburn Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y., who read the Presidential Address on *Aims and Methods of Teaching Church History*. The paper was discussed by Drs. Good, Ayer, Rockwell, Carter, and Emerton.

Peter Ainslee, of the Seminary House, Baltimore, Md., then read a paper entitled *Has the Denominational School a*

Place in Education? The paper was discussed by Messrs. Pratt, Faulkner, Foster, Richards, and Carter.

Dr. Preserved Smith of Cambridge, Mass., read a paper on *A Decade of Luther Study*. It was discussed by Messrs. Faulkner, Kieffer, Ayer, Emerton, Loetscher, Good, and Smith.

On motion, the order of the papers by Prof. Walker and Dr. Weiskotten, for later sessions of the Society, was interchanged.

At 1:15 the Society adjourned for luncheon at the Faculty Club of Columbia University.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The Society reconvened in the Directors' Room of the Union Theological Seminary, at 3:30 P.M., President Nichols being in the chair.

Among those present at the afternoon session were, besides the President and the Secretary, Messrs. Rockwell, Weber, Good, Emerton, Faulkner, Carter, Ayer, Kieffer, Hinke, Mendenhall, E. P. Johnson, Hood, Weiskotten, Manhart, Sweet, and, as a guest, Dr. S. G. Weiskotten.

The Minutes of the last annual meeting of the Society were read and approved as read.

As required by the Constitution the Council through the Secretary reported to the Society all items of special interest transacted by the Council at its afternoon session. These various actions are recorded in the Minutes of the Council of this same date.

The Secretary reported that he had sold five volumes of the *Papers* of the Society to the Library of Vassar College, at $3 a volume, less the usual 10% discount for libraries; that he attended to the correspondence of the Society and the Council, and performed the other duties of his office. He called attention to the losses sustained by the Society in the deaths of the following members: Heman Hale Smith, who

died Thursday, April 17, 1919, at Independence, Mo.; James Monroe Buckley, who died Sunday, Feb. 8, 1920, at Morristown, N. J.; Thomas Allen Clapp, who died Wednesday, December 15, 1920, at Haverford, Pa.; Clifford P. Case, who died Sunday, March 7, 1920, at Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; and Hiram Van Kirk, who died Friday, August 13, 1920, at Noroton, Conn.

The Treasurer of the Society, Prof. Henry J. Weber, presented his annual Report, as follows:

TREASURER'S REPORT, 1920

Bloomfield, N. J., December 9, 1920.

Receipts—Current

Balance Dec. 9, 1919	$981.31	
Dues 1915—1 at $3.00	3.00	
Dues 1916—1 at $3.00	3.00	
Dues 1918—4 at $3.00	12.00	
Dues 1919—19 at $3.00	57.00	
Dues 1920—121½ at $3.00	364.50	
Dues 1921—4 at $3.00	12.00	
Dues 1920—4 Sustaining Members	40.00	
Exchange	.70	
Sale of volumes through G. P. Putnam's Sons	30.60	
Vassar College, for five volumes	13.50	
Interest—Bloomfield Trust Company	38.37	$1555.98

Disbursements

Stenographer, Postage, Programs, etc.	$ 68.35	
Balance in Bank, Dec. 9, 1920	1487.63	$1555.98
Receipts—Current Account		$1517.61
Interest		38.37
		$1555.98
Disbursements		68.35
		$1487.63
Bank Bal. Dec. 9th, 1920		$1487.63
Endowment, Dec. 9, 1919	$618.00	
Interest to July, 1920	12.36	
	$630.36	
Endowment Account Balance		630.36
		$2117.99

HENRY J. WEBER, *Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct.

Attest: James I. Good
Joseph C. Ayer.

December 27, 1920.

On motion the President appointed an Auditing Committee to audit the accounts of the Treasurer. This Committee, consisting of Drs. Good and Ayer, reported that they examined the accounts of the Treasurer and found them correct. The Treasurer's report was adopted and approved.

The Committee on Conference with the American-Scandinavian Foundation and the Endowment Committee reported progress.

The Editorial Committee through its Chairman, the Secretary, reported that the delay in the publication of the sixth volume in the Second Series of *Papers* was due to the fact that one of the contributors had not yet completed his article.

On motion it was voted that the question as to the time to publish this volume be referred to the Editorial Committee with power.

The Membership Committee reported through its Chairman, Dr. Rockwell, urging members to co-operate with the Committee in securing new members.

Two amendments, proposed at the last annual meeting, were now considered, and after discussion both were adopted. One of these was in the following terms: "Resolved, that Article IV, Section 2 of the Constitution of the American Society of Church History be amended by striking out the period at the end thereof and adding thereto the following: '; but the Council shall strike from the roll of membership the name of any member who has failed to pay dues for three years, and thereafter such person shall cease to be a member of the Corporation.'"

The other Amendment was in the following terms:

"Resolved that Article III, Section 2 of the Constitution of the American Society of Church History be amended by inserting in the second line from the end thereof after the word 'shall' and before the word 'become' the following: 'upon payment of dues for one year.'"

The President thereupon declared both amendments to be parts of the Constitution.

Prof. Hinke reported in regard to the progress being made in the publication, under the auspices of the Society but without expense to it, of the second volume of the Latin works of Ulrich Zwingli.

The report of the Council, nominating officers for the ensuing year, and members of the standing committees of the Society, was received, and all these recommendations were adopted, resulting in the election of the nominees, as follows:

President, Ephraim Emerton;
Vice-President, James Coffin Stout;
Secretary, Frederick W. Loetscher;
Treasurer, Henry J. Weber.

As members of Council, the following *Former Presidents:* J. I. Good, J. A. Faulkner, E. P. Johnson, D. S. Schaff, H. B. Washburn, G. E. Horr, R. H. Nichols; and as *Elected Members of the Council:* W. N. Schwarze, S. J. Case, W. W. Rockwell, and O. H. Pannkoke.

Editorial Committee: R. H. Nichols, Chairman; and G. E. Horr, E. P. Johnson, and the Secretary.

Membership Committee: W. W. Rockwell, Chairman; the Treasurer, and the Secretary.

Endowment Committee: O. H. Pannkoke, Chairman; J. I. Good, W. W. Rockwell, W. Walker, and H. B. Washburn.

Committee on Conference with the American-Scandinavian Foundation: W. W. Rockwell, Chairman; H. G. Leach, and A. O. Fonkalsrud.[1]

These persons were declared duly elected to the offices and committees mentioned.

The thanks of the Society were voted to the Secretary,

[1] By action of the Council at its evening session (see Minutes of the Council, p. lii) O. M. Norlie was added to this Committee.

the Treasurer, and the Chairman of the Membership Committee for their faithful services in behalf of the Society.

Professor William Warren Sweet, of DePauw University, Greencastle, Ind., then read a paper entitled *Negro Churches in the South: A Phase of Reconstruction.* The paper was discussed by Messrs. Hood, Kieffer, Carter, and the author.

The next paper was by Herbert T. Weiskotten, of Summit, N. J., on *Unidentified Sermons of Severian, Bishop of Gabala.* It was discussed by Messrs. Loetscher and Rockwell.

A vote of thanks was ordered to be conveyed to the Directors of Union Theological Seminary for their kind hospitality to the Society on this occasion.

Recess was taken for dinner at the Faculty Club of Columbia University, at which the following were present: J. C. Ayer, Jr., J. Carter, E. Emerton, J. A. Faulkner, J. I. Good, E. P. Johnson, G. L. Kieffer, E. P. Manhart, R. H. Nichols, O. H. Pannkoke, W. W. Sweet, and W. W. Rockwell.

EVENING SESSION

The evening session was called to order in the Faculty Club of Columbia University by President Nichols at 7: 30 o'clock.

In the absence of the Secretary, W. W. Rockwell was chosen Secretary *pro tem.* Joseph C. Ayer, Jr., then read a paper by Professor Curtis Howe Walker, of the Rice Institute, Houston, Texas, entitled *The Conqueror's Writ Separating the Ecclesiastical and Lay Courts.*

There followed an informal discussion by Ephraim Emerton and others on the meaning of certain Latin terms used in the paper.

At 8: 15 the Society adjourned in order that the Council might convene at the same time and place.

Immediately after the adjournment of the Council, the Society reassembled at 8: 15 P.M.

On motion of W. W. Rockwell, O. H. Pannkoke was asked to give a preliminary outline of the proposed campaign for endowment. This introduced lively debate.

W. W. Rockwell then read a portion of a letter from H. W. Hulbert, of Groton, Conn., in regard to the proposed celebration of the 1700th anniversary of the Council of Nicea. This matter was discussed with reference to a possible participation of the Society in the celebration. But as the attendance of the meeting fell below the constitutional quorum, no action could be taken. At 9: 40 the Society adjourned.

Attest: WM. WALKER ROCKWELL,
Secretary pro tem.
FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER,
Secretary.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL, DECEMBER 27th, 1920

THE Council of the American Society of Church History met at Union Theological Seminary, New York City, in accordance with a call from the President, on Monday, December 27th, 1920, at 2:30 P.M. President Robert Hastings Nichols presided and the other members present were: E. P. Johnson, J. C. Ayer, Jr., W. W. Rockwell, J. I. Good, H. J. Weber, J. A. Faulkner, E. Emerton, and the Secretary.

The Minutes of the last meeting of the Council were read and approved as read.

The resignations of Prof. Chalfont Robinson, Bishop W. M. Brown, and Dr. Rufus W. Miller, as members of the Society, were accepted with regret.

On motion it was resolved that the Society continue to pay the contribution of one cent a member *per annum* to the Conference of Historical Societies, and the Secretary was instructed to notify the Conference of this action.

On motion, Drs. Washburn, S. J. Case, and N. W. Schwarze were excused for absence.

The question of the status of members in arrears for dues was, on motion, postponed to the evening session of the Council.

The Council elected the following new members of the Society:

1. Prof. A. Conn Klinger, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio.
2. Prof. Henry A. Lappin, D'Youville College, Buffalo, N. Y.

3. Prof. Conrad Moehlman, Rochester Theological Seminary, Rochester, N. Y.
4. Prof. Howard W. K. Mowll, Wycliffe College, Toronto, Canada.
5. Prof. C. Henry Smith, Bluffton, Ohio.
6. Vassar College Library.
7. Prof. Curtis Howe Walker, The Rice Institute, Houston, Texas.
8. President Earl Morse Wilbur, Pacific Unitarian School for the Ministry, Berkeley, Calif.
9. Rev. F. H. Knubel, D.D., LL.D., President of the United Lutheran Church, 437 Fifth Ave., New York City.
10. Rev. Lauritz Larsen, D.D., Secretary of the National Lutheran Church, 437 Fifth Ave., New York City.
11. David Gustafson, Bethel Academy and Theological Seminary, of the Swedish Baptist General Conference of America, 640 Simpson St., St. Paul, Minn.
12. Rev. Prof. F. P. Manhart, D.D., Selinsgrove, Pa.

The Council, acting as a Nominating Committee, nominated the following officers and committees for election by the Society to serve for the year 1921:

President, Ephraim Emerton;

Vice-President, James Coffin Stout;

Secretary, Frederick William Loetscher;

Treasurer, Henry James Weber.

As members of Council for 1921, the following *Former Presidents* were nominated: J. I. Good, J. A. Faulkner, E. P. Johnson, D. S. Schaff, H. B. Washburn, G. E. Horr, R. H. Nichols. The following were nominated to serve as *Elected Members of the Council* for the year: W. N. Schwarze, S. J. Case, W. W. Rockwell, and O. H. Pannkoke.

Editorial Committee: R. H. Nichols, Chairman; and G. E. Horr, E. P. Johnson, and F. W. Loetscher.

Membership Committee: W. W. Rockwell, Chairman; the Treasurer, and the Secretary.

Endowment Committee: O. H. Pannkoke, Chairman; J. I. Good, W. W. Rockwell, W. Walker, and H. B. Washburn.

Committee on Conference with the American-Scandinavian Foundation: W. W. Rockwell, Chairman; H. G. Leach, A. O. Fonkalsrud.

On motion the Editorial Committee was authorized to prepare the program for the next annual meeting, and Dr. Rockwell was requested to make the local arrangements.

The Secretary was directed to send copies of volumes iv, v and vi of our Second Series of *Papers* to the State Library of Berlin, Germany, and all the volumes of the Second Series (i-vi) to the University Library, Göttingen, Germany, with the compliments of the Society.

The matter of making a joint campaign for endowment funds with the Oriental Society and the Biblical Literature and Exegesis Society was referred to the Endowment Committee with power.

The Endowment Committee was, on motion, authorized to name the Advisory Committee on Finance.

On motion, the Council adjourned to meet at the call of the President.

Attest: FREDERICK WILLIAM LOETSCHER,
Secretary.

The Council met in the Faculty Club of Columbia University, Monday evening, December 27th, at 8: 15. Those present were President Nichols, and Messrs. Ayer, Emerton, Johnson, and Rockwell.

W. W. Rockwell was appointed Secretary *pro tem.*

Pursuant to the provision of the constitutional amendment ratified at the afternoon session of the Society, the

Council ordered that the name H. W. Hulbert be stricken from the roll of members on account of arrears in the payment of dues for over three years.

On motion by W. W. Rockwell the Council added to the membership of the Committee on Conference with the American-Scandinavian Foundation, Prof. O. M. Norlie, of the Luther College, Decorah, Iowa.

It was voted that the Secretary be informed that the practice of sending names of candidates for election to each member of the Council for letters of approval as provided in the Constitution, be continued.

At 8: 50 the Council on motion adjourned.

Attest: Wm. Walker Rockwell,
Secretary pro tem.
Frederick W. Loetscher,
Secretary.

THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, 1921

THE American Society of Church History held its fifteenth annual meeting in the Directors' Room of Union Theological Seminary, Broadway at 120th Street, New York City, on Tuesday, December 27th, 1921 (the last Monday of this month being a legal holiday).

MORNING SESSION

The meeting was called to order at 10:15 A.M. by President Ephraim Emerton.

Prayer was offered by Dr. William N. Schwarze.

Excuses were received for the absence of O. H. Pannkoke and W. B. Washburn, and on motion these members were excused.

Those present were R. H. Nichols, T. B. Neely, J. C. Stout, H. J. Weber, Preserved Smith, G. E. Horr, A. B. Keep, H. T. Weiskotten, W. V. Moses, A. R. Wentz, E. P. Johnson, W. N. Schwarze, J. A. Faulkner, J. I. Good, E. Emerton, F. J. F. Jackson, K. Kretzmann, H. G. Mendenhall, R. W. Heintze; and the following guests: T. W. Powell, H. M. Stuckert, A. Salla, G. Vecchio, J. S. De Rogatis, U. Lee, M. Post, F. Gerretsen, P. Luther, F. Mattei, L. A. Sibley, E. Fairley, A. de Boer (of Budapest, Hungary).

The literary session of the Society opened with the Presidential Address by Ephraim Emerton, of the Harvard Divinity School, Cambridge, Mass., on the subject *A Definition of Church History*. The paper was discussed by Preserved Smith, J. P. Johnson, J. C. Ayer, W. W. Rockwell, J. C. Stout, R. H. Nichols, and the author.

The second paper of the morning was then read. It was

by Arthur Adams, of Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., on the subject *St. Augustine's Doctrine of the State in Relation to Some Modern Theories of Sovereignty*. The paper was briefly discussed by F. W. Loetscher.

James Isaac Good, of the Central Theological Seminary, Dayton, O., then read the third paper of the day, on the subject *The Reformation and Religious Liberty*.

Prof. A. de Boer, Chief Curator of the Transylvanian Reformed Church, Budapest, Hungary, was invited to address the Society on the subject of the present condition of the Reformed Church in Hungary, and he called attention to the deplorable state of this ancient and important Church of the Reformed faith.

At 12:45 P.M. the Society adjourned for the afternoon session. The members and guests repaired to the Faculty Club of Columbia University, where Dr. Rockwell had made arrangements for luncheon.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The Society reconvened in the Directors' Room of the Union Theological Seminary at 3:20, President Emerton in the chair.

Among the additional members present at this session were E. L. Hood, G. W. Richards, H. M. Stuckert, and Louis I. Newman. The following additional guests were also in attendance: J. S. Cornett, D. H. Schroeder, and M. Meyer.

The Society then entered upon its business meeting.

The Minutes of the last annual meeting of the Society were read and approved.

The Secretary made the report of the Council to the Society, calling attention to the chief actions taken by the Council since the last annual meeting of the Society, and on motion these actions were approved.

The Treasurer of the Society, Henry J. Weber, presented his annual Report, as follows:

TREASURER'S REPORT 1921

Bloomfield, N. J., December 22, 1921.

Receipts

Current Account including balance from last year	$2232.67	
Interest	36.63	$2269.30
Disbursements		1747.19
		522.11
Bank balance, December 22, 1921		522.11
Endowment Fund, Dec. 1920	$630.36	
Interest to July 1, 1921	25.44	
	655.80	655.80
Total balance		$1177.91

Receipts—Current

Balance in bank, Dec. 9, 1920	$1487.63	
Dues for 1914— 1 at $3.00	3.00	
Dues for 1915— 1 at $3.00	3.00	
Dues for 1916— 1 at $3.00	3.00	
Dues for 1917— 3 at $3.00	9.00	
Dues for 1918— 5 at $3.00	15.00	
Dues for 1919— 7 at $3.00	21.00	
Dues for 1920— 26 at $3.00	78.00	
Dues for 1920—2 Sustaining members	20.00	
Dues for 1921—115 at $3.00	345.00	
Dues for 1921—5 Sustaining members	53.00	
Dues for 1922— 3 at $3.00	9.00	
To settle claim of 1918–19–20 Estate of Prof. A. B. Show	5.00	
Exchange	.50	
Sales of volumes through G. P. Putnam's Sons	30.54	
Rev. W. O. Shoemaker, Contribution toward payment of publication of Volume vi	150.00	
Interest, Bloomfield Trust Company	36.63	$2269.30

Disbursements

Stenographer, postage, programs, etc.	$141.91	
Publication of Volume vi	1605.28	
Balance in Bank	522.11	
		$2269.30

HENRY J. WEBER, *Treasurer.*

The Treasurer's Report was accepted and an auditing Committee, consisting of George E. Horr and J. C. Ayer, was appointed to examine and audit the accounts of the Treasurer. This Committee reported, through Dr. Horr, that it examined the accounts and found them correct. The report of the Committee was adopted, and the Society approved the Report of the Treasurer.

The Secretary submitted the following report to the Society.

SECRETARY'S REPORT

The Secretary would respectfully report that he has attended to the correspondence of the Society and to the best of his ability discharged the other duties of his office.

Toward the end of June Volume vi of our *Papers* was published, 350 copies being ordered. Copies were sent by order of the Secretary to all members, including library members, who were entitled to receive them. In regard to the List of Members at the close of the volume, two names of newly elected members, Prof. A. Conn Klinger and David Gustafson, had to be omitted because their dues had not been received in time. The greatest care was used to secure the latest information in regard to the members for publication in this List, but no doubt there are some inaccuracies, and the Secretary would be glad to get corrected data as soon as possible.

In accordance with instructions received at the last meeting of the Society, the Secretary sent copies of Volumes iv, v, vi of the Second Series of our *Papers* to the Prussian State Library, Berlin, Germany, and all the members of this Series to the Library of the University of Göttingen, Göttingen, Germany.

Contributors to Volume vi were given the usual number of complimentary copies of reprints of their articles.

The Secretary would report the death of the Rev. J. A. Carr, of Bristol, Pa., on September 16, 1920.

In accordance with the request of the Secretary of the American Historical Association that our Society send a delegate to the Washington celebration of the six hundredth anniversary

of the death of Dante, held on October 3, 1921, the President, to whom this request was transmitted, appointed as our delegate Prof. George L. Burr, of Cornell University.

Respectfully submitted,

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER,
Secretary.

The Report of the Secretary was received and approved and ordered to be recorded in the Minutes of this meeting.

The Secretary reported for the Editorial Committee, calling attention to the reasons for the late appearance and high cost of the last volume of our *Papers*. He informed the Society that there is material on hand for another volume, and that he hoped Volume vii might be published in 1922 or early in 1923. The Report was approved.

The Membership Committee reported through its Chairman, W. W. Rockwell, in regard to its plans for a campaign for increasing the membership of the Society. The report was approved.

In the absence of the Chairman of the Endowment Committee, Dr. O. H. Pannkoke, the report of this Committee was submitted by Dr. Rockwell, who informed the Society that owing to the general business situation in the country little could be done the past year to increase the endowments of the Society. The report was approved.

The Committee on Conference with the American-Scandinavian foundation reported through its Chairman, Dr. Rockwell, that the high cost of book-manufacture at the present time made it impossible for the Foundation to proceed with the publication of its contemplated history pertaining to the Scandinavian Lands.

The Secretary reported the nominations for officers of the Society and for members of its Committees, as recommended by the Council.

The Society instructed the Secretary to cast a ballot for

these various nominees, whereupon the President declared them duly elected. The officers and committee members thus elected are as follows:

President, William Nathaniel Schwarze;
Vice-President, James Coffin Stout;
Secretary, Frederick William Loetscher;
Treasurer, Robert Hastings Nichols.

As members of Council, the following *Former Presidents:* James Isaac Good, John Alfred Faulkner, Edward Payson Johnson, David Schley Schaff, Henry Bradford Washburn, George Edwin Horr, Ephraim Emerton; and also the following as *Elected Members of the Council:* Shirley Jackson Case, William Walter Rockwell, Otto Hermann Pannkoke, Henry James Weber.

Editorial Committee: Ephraim Emerton, Chairman; R. H. Nichols, G. E. Horr, and the Secretary.

Membership Committee: W. W. Rockwell, Chairman; the President, the Secretary, and the Treasurer.

Endowment Committee: O. H. Pannkoke, Chairman; J. I. Good, W. W. Rockwell, W. Walker, H. B. Washburn.

Advisory Committee on Finance: the membership of this Committee was left to the discretion of the Endowment Committee.

Committee on Conference with the American-Scandinavian Foundation: W. W. Rockwell, Chairman; H. G. Leach, O. M. Norlie. The Committee was authorized to add to its numbers at discretion.

The Society on the occasion of the resignation of Henry J. Weber from the office of Treasurer which he filled for seven years, tendered him a hearty vote of thanks for his faithful service.

The following was adopted: Resolved that the thanks of the Society be conveyed to Union Theological Seminary for the use of its rooms for the meeting of the Society.

At 4:20 P.M. the Society resumed its literary session. Joseph Cullen Ayer, of the Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, read a paper on *The Place of Church History in the Seminary Curriculum*, which was discussed by F. W. Loetscher, H. J. Weber, A. Adams, G. W. Richards, A. R. Wentz, E. L. Hood, and the author.

The final paper was by John Alfred Faulkner, of Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J., on the subject *What Did Wesley Intend in the Coke Ordination?* The paper was discussed by T. B. Neely.

The afternoon session adjourned at 6:22 o'clock, and shortly thereafter the members of the Society dined together at the Faculty Club of Columbia University. Those present were Messrs. Adams, Emerton, Good, Nichols, Rockwell, and Schwarze; also Messrs. Ayer, Faulkner, and Stuckert, who soon had to leave.

EVENING SESSION

At 7:30 o'clock President Emerton called the evening session to order. Prof. Rockwell was appointed Secretary *pro tem.* As only six members were present, the time was spent in informal discussion and the interchange of news of professional interest. At about half past eight the meeting adjourned.

Attest: FREDERICK WILLIAM LOETSCHER,
Secretary.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL DECEMBER 27th, 1921

THE Council of the American Society of Church History met at Union Theological Seminary, New York City, in accordance with a call from the President of the Society, on Tuesday, December 27th, 1921 (the preceding Monday being a legal holiday), at 12:45 P.M.

The President, Ephraim Emerton, was in the chair, and the other members present were Messrs. Horr, Nichols, Faulkner, Weber, Rockwell, Schwarze, Good, Johnson, Stout, and the Secretary.

Drs. Washburn and Pannkoke were excused for absence.

The Minutes of the last meeting of the Council were read and approved as read.

It was voted that the Society pay a contribution of one cent a member to the Conference of Historical Societies of which this Society is a member.

The resignations of the Rev. Samuel Simpson and the Rt. Rev. Maurice M. Hassett were accepted with regret.

The Council discussed several matters informally, but postponed action on them till after luncheon.

The Council reconvened at 2:15, the time appointed for its adjourned meeting.

The Council ratified the election of Prof. Plato Ernest Shaw, of Wesley College, University, North Dakota, and of the Carleton College Library as a library member, who had become entitled to the privileges of the Society by the favorable action of the members in response to a circular letter of inquiry from the Secretary.

The names of the following members, who had failed to pay dues for three years or more, and who had been notified

of the constitutional amendment concerning the dropping of delinquent members from the roll, were ordered stricken from the roll of the Society: E. S. Bromer, Howard A. Bulson, E. C. Chorley, John H. M. Dudley, J. O. Evjen, A. C. Flick, Ian Hannah, L. M. Haughwout, T. F. Herman, C. M. Hesselgrave, O. W. Howard, A. C. Howland, Charles M. Jacobs, T. C. Johnson, J. S. Kittel, C. D. Lamberton, D. F. McGill, W. J. McGlothlin, J. V. Moldenhauer, A. H. Newman, P. H. Rhinelander, H. K. Rowe, P. L. Schenck, H. P. Scratchley, J. M. Shaw, C. M. Stuart, H. C. Vedder, J. A. Wilson.

The following persons and Library were elected to membership, having been duly nominated and seconded:

Prof. W. E. Lunt, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.

Silas Rees, Union Theological Seminary, New York City.

Grand Rapids Public Library, Grand Rapids, Mich.

Rev. Behrend Mehrtens, 49 West Rock Ave., New Haven.

Rev. Acton Griscom, 37 Fifth Ave., New York City.

Rev. Prof. William T. Dau, D.D., Professor of Dogmatics and English Bible, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis.

Rev. L. S. Ilmonen, Finnish Lutheran Church, 754—44th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Rev. Canon R. E. Jones, Cathedral of St. John the Divine, Amsterdam Ave. and 111th Street, New York City.

Rev. Howard M. Stuckert, Assistant Professor of History, Ohio State University, 173 So. 18th Street, Columbus, O.

Rabbi Louis I. Newman, 723 Hartley Hall, Columbia University, New York City.

Professor H. I. Stock, Assistant Professor of Church History, Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill.

On motion Dr. Rockwell, as Chairman of the Membership Committee, was authorized to spend a sum not to exceed $10 to pay for clerical assistance in ascertaining the names of eligible persons whose names are listed in catalogues of institutions of learning, etc.

Secretary Loetscher was voted the thanks of the Society for his services in behalf of the corporation.

The Treasurer of the Society, Henry J. Weber, after a service of seven years in this capacity, tendered his resignation owing to the pressure of other duties and his desire to get relief from the work incident to his position as Treasurer. The Council accepted his resignation with great regret.

The Council acting as a Nominating Committee to recommend officers and committee members for the ensuing year, nominated the persons, subsequently elected by the Society, as recorded in the Minutes of the Society of this same date (see *ante*, p. lviii).

The question as to the time when the next volume of our proceedings and papers should be published, and as to what is to be included in the volume, was referred to the Editorial Committee with power.

It was voted that Prof. Rockwell should send a letter of sympathy in behalf of the Society to Professor Williston Walker in his present illness.

The Editorial Committee was authorized to publish a circular descriptive of the publications of the Society.

The Council adjourned at 3: 15, in order that its members might attend the afternoon session of the Society.

Immediately after the adjournment of the afternoon meeting of the Society at 6: 22 o'clock, President Emerton called a meeting of the Council. Those present, besides the President, were Messrs. Faulkner, Good, Horr, Schwarze, and Rockwell. W. W. Rockwell was appointed Secretary *pro tem.*

The following three persons were duly nominated and elected as members of the Society:

Professor Umphrey Lee, of the Wesley Bible Chair at the University of Texas, Austin, Texas, whose present address is 3131 Broadway, New York City.

Roland Bainton, Ph.D., Instructor in Church History in the Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.
Rev. Percy V. Norwood, Western Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill.

The Council adjourned at 6:24 P.M.

Attest: FREDERICK WILLIAM LOETSCHER,
Secretary.

SIXTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, DECEMBER 26, 1922

THE American Society of Church History held its sixteenth annual meeting in the Directors' Room of Union Theological Seminary, Broadway at 120th Street, New York City, on Tuesday, December 26th, 1922 (the last Monday of this month being a legal holiday).

MORNING SESSION

The meeting was called to order at 10: 30 A.M. by President William Nathaniel Schwarze, and prayer was offered by Dr. G. U. Wenner, of New York City.

Those present, besides the members already named, were the following members: Messrs. C. E. Corwin, F. W. Loetscher, E. L. Hood, T. B. Neely, E. P. Johnson, S. Rees, A. Adams, W. V. Moses, F. A. Christie, J. A. Faulkner, W. H. Allison, J. I. Good, R. H. Nichols, F. J. F. Jackson, G. E. Horr, G. L. Kieffer; and the following guests: D. H. Schroeder, F. Gerritson, A. B. Rhinnow, R. G. Freytag, E. I. Case, W. N. P. Dailey.

President Schwarze then read his Presidential Address on the subject *Early Moravian Settlements in America*. The paper was discussed by Messrs. Good, Faulkner, Corwin, E. P. Johnson, and Nichols.

The second paper of the morning was by Frederick John Foakes Jackson, of Union Theological Seminary, New York City, on the subject *Some Suggestions as to the Teaching of Early Church History*. In the ensuing discussion Messrs. Hood, Loetscher, and the reader of the paper took part.

William Henry Allison, of Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y., read the next paper, his subject being, *Some Historical Aspects of the Movement for Christian Union*. The paper was discussed by Messrs. Loetscher, Faulkner, E. P. Johnson, Nichols, Neely, Schwarze, and the author of the paper.

At about one o'clock the Society took a recess, and the members and guests repaired to the Faculty Club of Columbia University for luncheon.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The Society reconvened in the Directors' Room of Union Theological Seminary at 3:15, President Schwarze in the chair.

The Minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved.

The Council reported to the Society, through the Secretary, calling attention to the more important items of business transacted by the Council since the last meeting of the Society, and the report was approved.

The Treasurer, Robert Hastings Nichols, submitted his annual report to the Society, which was received, audited by a committee appointed by the President, namely Messrs. W. H. Allison and W. V. Moses, approved as audited, and ordered spread upon the Minutes of the Society. The report is as follows:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY FOR THE YEAR DECEMBER 22, 1921, TO DECEMBER 18, 1922.

Auburn, N. Y., December 26, 1922.

CURRENT FUNDS ACCOUNTS

Receipts

Balance on hand, Dec. 22, 1921		$522.11
Dues for Active Membership—		
1917— 1 member	$3.00	
1918— 2 members	6.00	
1919— 4 members	12.00	
1920— 6 members	18.00	
1921— 29 members	87.20	
1922—130 members	390.20	
1923— 10 members	30.00	546.40

Dues for Sustaining Membership—		
1921—1 member	$10.00	
1922—4 members	40.00	
1923—1 member	10.00	$60.00
From W. O. Shewmaker, final payment toward publication of Vol. vi of *Papers*		25.00
Royalties on sales of *Papers* G. P. Putnam's Sons		50.78
Interest, Bloomfield Trust Company		1.00
Overpaid for dues		3.00
Returned by Conference of Historical Societies		1.84
Paid for one volume of *Papers*, Texas University Library		3.00
Total of Receipts		$1213.13

Disbursements

Printing	$59.15
Postage	26.49
Stenographers' services	24.14
Card index	.75
Conference on Historical Societies	2.84
Refunded, for dues overpaid, and one volume of *Papers*	12.00
Total of Disbursements	$125.37
Cash in National Bank of Auburn, N. Y., Dec. 18, 1922, per bank statement	$1087.76
	$1213.13

ENDOWMENT FUND ACCOUNT

Received from Henry J. Weber, former Treasurer, Jan. 5, 1922	$668.90
Interest, Auburn Savings Bank	13.36
Cash in Auburn Savings Bank, Dec. 18, 1922, per bank book	$682.26

ROBERT HASTINGS NICHOLS, *Treasurer.*

December 26, 1922.

We have examined this report, with vouchers, and bank reports, and find it correct.

William H. Allison,
Walter V. Moses,
Auditing Committee.

The Secretary reported that he had performed the duties of his office during the past year, keeping the Minutes up to date, attending to the correspondence of the Society, and preparing the annual program. He referred to the deaths of three members of the Society, reading an obituary notice of Prof. James Ballantyne, of Knox College, Toronto, and referring to the life and character of Dean W. O. Ruston, of Dubuque University, Dubuque, Ia. Dr. E. L. Hood paid a tribute to the late Prof. Williston Walker, of Yale University, New Haven.

R. H. Nichols called attention to the fact that Prof. Hinke, of Auburn Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y., has completed his work in editing the second volume of the works of Zwingli, and that the third volume is being edited by Dr. Nichols.

The Secretary reported the nominations of the Council for officers and committeemen for the ensuing year, and on motion he was instructed to cast a ballot for these nominees, whereupon they were declared duly elected to the offices and committees for which the Council nominated them. For the names, see the Minutes of the Council of this same date (below, p. lxx).

The thanks of the Society were voted to Union Theological Seminary for its kindness in permitting the Society to meet in its rooms, and to the Faculty Club of Columbia University for affording its facilities to the Society for luncheon and dinner.

At 4: 05 the Society resumed its literary session. Charles E. Corwin, pastor of the Reformed Church of Rocky Hill, N. J., read the first paper of the afternoon, his subject being *Efforts of the Dutch-American Colonial Pastors for the Conversion of the Indians*. The paper was discussed by Messrs. Good, E. P. Johnson, and Schwarze.

E. Lyman Hood read the next paper on the subject *The Early History of the Greek-Russian Church in North America.*

It was discussed by Messrs. Schwarze, Good, Faulkner, Loetscher, Corwin, Neely, Allison, Moses, and the author.

The Society on motion authorized the Treasurer to pay the bills for the printing of this annual program, and of the next year's list of officers and committees, and also for the printing of the program for 1923.

At 6 P.M. the Society adjourned for dinner to the Faculty Club of Columbia University.

EVENING SESSION

After dinner the Society met at the Faculty Club, Columbia University, being called to order at 7:30 P.M.

Those present were Messrs. Schwarze, who presided, and Good, Faulkner, Burdick, Allison, Nichols, Rees, Christie, E. P. Johnson, Corwin, and Bewer.

Prayer was offered by Dr. Good. Charles E. Corwin was appointed Secretary *pro tem.*

Silas Rees, of Union Theological Seminary, New York City, read the first paper of the evening, the subject being *Leontius of Byzantium.* The paper was discussed by several of those present.

The last paper of the session was that of Edwin Franklin Albertsworth, of Western Reserve College, Cleveland, O., and was read in his absence by E. P. Johnson, of New Brunswick, the subject being *Current Juristic Thought and Modern Juristic Movements.* An animated discussion followed the reading of the paper.

On motion the Society adjourned.

Attest: CHABLES E. CORWIN,
Secretary pro tem.

FREDERICK WILLIAM LOETSCHER,
Secretary.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL, DECEMBER 26th, 1922

IN accordance with a previous call by the President of the Society, the Council met at Union Theological Seminary, New York City, on Tuesday, December 26th, 1922 (the preceding Monday being a legal holiday) at 2:30 P.M., President William Nathaniel Schwarze in the chair.

Besides the presiding officer there were present Drs. Nichols, Good, Johnson, Horr, Faulkner and the Secretary.

Drs. Washburn and Emerton were, on motion, excused for absence.

The Minutes of the last meeting of the Council, that of December 21st, 1921, were read and approved as read.

The following seven members presented in writing their resignations as members of the Society, and on motion the resignations were accepted: F. M. C. Bedell, A. W. Fortune, Alexander Fraser, Eric M. North, P. E. Shaw, W. N. Stearns, and A. T. Swing.

The following four members having failed to pay dues for three years were, in accordance with the provision of the Constitution (Article IV, Section 2), dropped from the roll of the Society; A. O. Fonkalsrud, Arthur Hörmann, John MacLean, and E. E. Stringfellow.

The Secretary was instructed to write to Dr. P. G. Mode, of the University of Chicago, to urge him to continue his membership in the Society by making up his arrears.

Bishop R. J. Cooke and the Rev. Wm. L. Sullivan were declared, on the reconsideration of the action in their cases a year ago, to be members in good and regular standing, and the record of the actions taken in their cases at that time was ordered to be corrected in harmony with the action

taken at this time, and the Secretary was instructed to inform these two members of the action of the Council in their cases.

It was voted that the Treasurer be authorized to pay the annual dues of the Society, amounting to one dollar, to the Conference of Historical Societies.

On motion the action of the Secretary in sending complimentary copies of Volume vi of the *Papers* of the Society to the Prussian State Library at Berlin and the Library of University of Göttingen, Göttingen, Germany, was approved.

Acting as a nominating committee, the Council voted to recommend the following as officers and committeemen for the ensuing year:

President, James Coffin Stout;

Vice-President, Henry James Weber;

Secretary, Frederick William Loetscher;

Treasurer, Robert Hastings Nichols.

As members of Council, the following *Former Presidents:* Messrs. Faulkner, Johnson, Schaff, Washburn, Horr, Nichols, Emerton, Schwarze; and as *Elected Members of the Council:* Messrs. Case, Rockwell, Pannkoke and Good.

Editorial Committee: Messrs. Schwarze, Chairman; Nichols, Horr, and the Secretary.

Membership Committee: Messrs. Rockwell, Chairman; the President, the Secretary, and the Treasurer.

Committee on Endowment: Messrs. Pannkoke, Chairman; Good, Rockwell, and Washburn; this Committee to have authority to appoint an Advisory Committee on Finance.

Committee on Conference with the American-Scandinavian Foundation: Messrs. Rockwell, Chairman; Leach, Hammarsköld, and Norlie.

The program for the next annual meeting was committed to the Editorial Committee with power, and Prof. Rockwell was made a committee on local arrangements.

On motion the following persons were duly elected as

new members: Prof. Frank S. B. Gavin, Nashatoh House, Nashatoh, Wis.

Rev. Theodore Ainsworth Greene, Brick Church, 37th and Fifth Ave., New York City.

Prof. Albert Henry Newman, Mercer University, Macon, Ga.

Dean Whitmer, Witmarsum Theological Seminary, Bluffton, Ohio.

The Editorial Committee was authorized to proceed with the publication of Volume vii of our *Papers*.

On motion the Council adjourned to meet at the call of the President.

Attest: FREDERICK WILLIAM LOETSCHER,
Secretary.

The Army Chaplain

By

Henry Bradford Washburn

THE ARMY CHAPLAIN

By Henry Bradford Washburn, D.D., Professor of Church History, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.

(*The Presidential Address, read December 30, 1918*)

IN the broadest meaning of the word, the "chaplain" has been with the armies of the world since men first went to war. Whenever men have recognized the gods or God in intertribal and international disagreement, the representatives of supernatural power have been among the soldiers.

At first the chaplain appears in very crude form. The augurs and the haruspices of the early Greeks and Romans were men whose task it was to forecast success or defeat by examining the entrails of animals, by watching the flights of birds or by reading the signs of the heavens. No army would venture into action without first enlisting the mysterious agencies of divine might.

The Hebrews were no exception to this apparently universal custom, as a casual reading of the Exodus and entry into the Holy Land will plainly show. Their priests accompanied the army; they went from Egypt in the vanguard of the armies led by the Lord God of Hosts; their God being a God of battles as well as a God of peace, they were to represent him in action, if not to carry him into action. It is not surprising, therefore, to find these primitive chaplains before the walls of Jericho when the Hebrews were forcing their passage into the Promised Land. They were carrying the ark of Jehovah when the armed men were ordered to pass on before it. They were the custodians of the divine relics—the tables of the law, and Aaron's rod that budded.

The story tells us that when these guarantees of God had been carried about the city seven times, the walls fell.

Such instances as these are typical of the early use of the priestly function in time of battle. The priest was supposed to enlist divine favour; he was expected to evoke the heavenly magic.

So far as I have been able to ascertain, the appearance of the first Christian army chaplain was due to a similar cause. In making this assertion I am rejecting the supposition of Naegele and possibly of Harnack that there were Christian chaplains in the army when Christians ministered to Christians in the Roman legions. For I am assuming that the word chaplain implies an appointment of a formal or of an informal nature on the part of the military authorities. There could hardly be a Christian chaplain before there was a Christian state.

Singularly enough, the Christian chaplain emerges in history at a time and in a place associated with the crassest pagan conception of the relationship of the divine to the army. You are familiar with the story of St. Martin and his cloak—how this young soldier of Julian, standing in the cold outside the gates of Amiens, shared his cloak with a beggar, and how, after Martin had lived as soldier, monk, and bishop, the remnants of the cloak became a sacred relic preserved at Tours. Was it not Christ who had appeared in the guise of the beggar and was it not Christ who had worn the cloak? The relic was guarded with scrupulous care; a building was set apart for its preservation; two men were appointed to be its guardians. The capella, or cloak, gave its name to the building and to the priests in charge. For the first time the chapel and the chaplains appear under these names. The widespread popularity of the shrine of St. Martin, the pilgrimages to the spot and the semi-pagan character of the Christianity of the peoples of western Europe, gave general currency to the institution and the terms.

So far as a consensus of opinion may carry weight, such is the origin of the word chaplain. Other suggestions have been made, but none seems to command the assent of scholars as fully as this.

What, however, has this to do with the army? To be sure, Martin was a soldier when he divided his capella, but his heart was not in his calling. As soon as opportunity offered, he abandoned the camp for the cloister. It is rather the destiny of the relic which connects Martin with the army. For no sooner had the shrine become famous, and no sooner had the relic become imbued with supernatural virtue, than the two custodians were expected to carry into battle the casket in which it was enclosed, and thereby to secure the co-operation of God through the protection of the saint. About the sixth century the relic was taken into battle by the Franks. Two unarmed men, the same as those who cared for it in time of peace, bore it immediately behind the standard during the conflict, hoping thereby that the warriors might be assured of an heavenly presence, and that therefore they might more bravely and more hopefully fight. The name of Martin is therefore most intimately connected with the office of chaplain as well as with the title. So closely associated is he with them that it is not unreasonable to hope that so soon as a corps of chaplains will have been obtained, St. Martin will be their patron saint, and St. Martin's Day, November 11, the anniversary of the armistice in the Great World War, will be the annual day of meeting.

It is the task of the historian to discover whatever progressive developments there were in the function of the chaplain between the time of his appearance in history and the complete change in his function, and in the idea held of him by the soldiers at about the middle of the fourteenth century. The information already in hand is scanty; the field of research is as wide as the medieval records of war are numerous. Here and there one finds a reference like that

contained in an account of a battle against the Viking Hasting, in which the relic of Martin was carried into the thick of the fight. But to be thorough, one must re-read the chronicles, the stories of the saints, and particularly the records of the shrines, in order to realize how potent the relics of Martin and other saints were considered, and how prominently their custodians figured in the medieval battles. Not only in the West but in the East as well, where an even richer field would be found, must the research be undertaken. Many of the familiar documents, if studied from this new point of view, would yield a rich amount of material.

I am quite confident, however, that the cumulative evidence would bear witness to the same principle as that already made apparent in the case of the relic of St. Martin: the chaplain would be primarily interested in the care of the relics; and the value placed upon the function of the chaplain would inhere almost entirely in the supposed potency of the relics. There would be little progressive evolution in the place and duties of the chaplain.

Nevertheless, there are two or three references to chaplains in the early medieval period which throw light on the contemporary notion of their duties. Charlemagne made use of chaplains in the field for the celebration of the mass. So did later kings and emperors. But apparently these chaplains were not inseparable from the army. They were priests connected with the royal person. They accompanied him wherever he went and whatever the business in which he was engaged. Charlemagne, however, definitely recognized the chaplain who carried the relics. He legislated that he should carry arms, a complete reversal of the present custom that he shall go unarmed into conflict. Charlemagne did not intend that the chaplain should become a belligerent, but rather that he should safeguard the relics. His arms were carried for a purely protective purpose, the chaplain himself not being the primary object of protection.

Such is the scanty evidence in regard to the character of the chaplain during the Middle Ages.

With the advent of the pre-Reformation period a change passes over the nature of the duties which the chaplain was expected to fulfil. During the days when many a belief was being questioned, and when a modern point of view in many religious things was forcing itself to the front, the public exhibition of the relic in battle fell into disuse. After the middle of the fourteenth century it is heard of no more. The custodian of the relic suffers the same fate. The first period of the history of the chaplain had ceased and there dawned the second phase of his progress—a stage in which the chaplain was supposed to perform many of the functions expected of him at the present day. The barbarians of the West were becoming more Christian and the value of the personal relationship between the soldier and God was more keenly felt. With this association the chaplain of the future would have to do. Naturally, theretofore the chaplain had probably administered the sacraments and had undoubtedly dealt with the personal religious life of the individual. This secondary duty had now, however, become primary.

With the opening of the Reformation period appears a succession of chaplains, many of whose names are known and whose personal influence has left a permanent impression on the world. According to their own lights, they tried to keep the individual and the army close to God. Although the days of superstition were by no means gone, the days of the chaplain's personal interest in the men had come.

Zwingli is one of the first of whom I have found any record. Meagre though the notices are of his activities in this respect, we know that he entered the Franco-Italian wars as a chaplain, that he went into action not as a warrior but as one ready to serve the religious needs of the men, and that he took his position in the rear on his horse. When he

met his death some years later in the battle of Cappel, he was more the warrior than the chaplain.

But quite the best known chaplain of the sixteenth century is Olmedo, the unfailing friend, the constant companion, the valued temporal and spiritual adviser of Cortez, the conqueror of Mexico. Those familiar with Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*, or better still, those who have looked through the source upon which Prescott drew for practically all the information he gathered in regard to Olmedo—Bernal Diaz—will recall the prominent part which Olmedo played in the conquest. They realize that it is no overstatement to say that Cortez would hardly have achieved his astounding results had he not had such a staunch supporter as Olmedo proved to be.

The wide range of interests to which Olmedo devoted himself is in a measure typical of the duties with which the abler chaplains of the day concerned themselves. Whatever pertained to religion, and also whatever was related to the broad realm of right and wrong, were his field of action. He frequently celebrated the Holy Mysteries; he invariably heard confessions and administered the sacrament before going into battle. He knew the men individually and dealt with them individually (there were only five hundred of them). Many a time he stayed the rash hand of his master, counselling patience. Many a time he pleaded for toleration in the understanding and treatment of the barbarous natives, persuading Cortez that he must qualify his opinion of the Aztecs with his knowledge that they had little opportunity to become familiar with Christian truths. He also had the enemy's religious welfare at heart. He looked upon them as the object of his Christian mission. He attended the death bed of Maxixca, at first the pagan enemy and later the pagan ally of Cortez. He wanted to see the Christian cross stand on the great platform so frequently desecrated by human sacrifice. But he did not want to see it placed

there too prematurely. On the whole, he confined himself to morals and religion. But he did not hesitate to accept missions in which diplomacy and sometimes guile were elements necessary to success. He was sent by Cortez to render powerless the dangerous Narvaez.

Possibly the most conclusive evidence of Olmedo's power was the reliance placed in him by Cortez. Much of this may, of course, be accounted for by the fact that Olmedo was one of the few men of character and leadership within the army. Not all of it, however, may be so explained. Because of his sheer ability Cortez gave him practically supreme authority in matters of religion, whether they concerned the Spaniards or the Aztecs. Because of the profound respect Cortez entertained for Olmedo's opinion, he listened to it in many matters of a military nature. Because of Olmedo's larger grasp of the wider issues of the Conquest, Cortez was glad to yield to his chaplain's leadership. Because Olmedo was a master of men, Cortez trusted in him and depended upon him. If we allow for the exceedingly immature Christianity of the day, a faith hardly superior to the barbarism which the Spaniards were trying to supplant, we shall see that this army chaplain represented certain permanently valuable principles. The newer kind of chaplain should concern himself with the religion of the soldiers under his care, with the religion of the enemy as well; he should be the confidant of his commander; he should stand ready to counsel his military superior in all matters on which the latter might care to consult him; he should willingly undertake missions which in his mind might contribute to the success of the expedition; he should never function as a warrior.

Olmedo was possibly one of the best of his class. But the class was very large. One has merely to remember that he lived in the century of world-exploration and adventure, in order to imagine the wealth of material at the disposal

of the student of the history of the chaplain. The Hakluyt Society's records with its memorials of the clergy who accompanied nearly every voyage are but part of the source of information. These and other records must be re-read with the chaplain in mind if one wishes to ascertain the specific place he occupied, his relation to the soldiers and sailors of the expedition, his part in the new settlement or colony. I have hardly glanced into this promising field of information. I am sure, however, that much the same results would be obtained as those already gained from the life of Olmedo. I hope some day to be able to examine all these volumes with the same interest as that with which I have read Bernal Diaz, and to be none the less richly rewarded.

It may be objected that I am here trespassing on the subject of the Navy Chaplain. But I am not. Although the chaplain was frequently the priest of the ship, he was none the less the spiritual adviser of the ship's company when they penetrated the interior on their journeys of exploration and adventure. The two chaplaincies frequently coalesce, but in cases like that of Olmedo, for example, the voyage was a mere incident, while the military expedition was the main business of life. It may be said also that chaplains accompanied all expeditions, for there was a universal conviction that the Church should follow its children whithersoever they might go, and that new lands should be conquered only in its name. Portuguese expeditions toward the East as well as Spanish journeys toward the West are final evidence of the principle, as the records of the life of St. Francis Xavier plainly show.

It would seem that much interesting material might have been found in the state papers of the reign of Elizabeth, the period contemporary with much of the Hakluyt material. In the attempt to find something definite and satisfactory I was much disappointed. The references are very meagre. They leave one with the information that there were chap-

lains, but with no clear notion of the duties which filled the chaplain's day. The same may be said of the state papers of the reigns of James I and of Charles I and even of the Commonwealth and Protectorate. So far as I have been able to discover, there is little but notices of legislation in regard to position and pay. It is even more surprising that the lives of Cromwell leave the subject of the chaplain almost entirely alone. I attribute the fact to the possibility that the main details of the chaplain's life are taken for granted. In days, however, when England was so concerned with the spiritual welfare of its men abroad that it compiled the service for those at sea, and at a time when religion was thought to be the heart and lungs of the army, one would expect that a prominent place would be given the chaplain. I am inclined to think that one must glean the facts from books of biography and travel of the time rather than from the state papers. There is more material in the story of Robert Hunt of the Jamestown Colony than in all the state papers through which I have searched.

There is, however, a field of study which will yield rich results. The records of the travels and exploits of the Jesuits, not only in Canada, but throughout the world, will give a picture of the activities of the chaplain surpassed by none. The outlines of the picture are familiar, as we know them in Parkman. In a real sense the Jesuit was a chaplain, inasmuch as he was the official representative of religion. And although the primary object of the expedition was exploration, preliminary to business enterprise, the state required the presence of the chaplain.

Possibly the greatest contribution of the Jesuits to the history of the chaplain is their demand that he shall not bear arms. Charlemagne, as we have seen, legislated that he might carry arms for the defense of the relics. So far as I know, chaplains like Olmedo never carried weapons. Apparently, however, many chaplains were in the habit of

doing so. Otherwise, the restriction of the Jesuits would have been unnecessary. Whether they took this step in order that the chaplain might be free to confine himself to his spiritual duties, or whether they were returning to an earlier Christian custom and were insistent that the chaplain should represent the ideal ethic, it is difficult to say. It is true, nevertheless, that the Jesuits reintroduced a custom which has had almost universal Catholic sanction.

Turning now to the Thirty Years' War we are introduced into a field of research rich in suggestion, although not so rich in result. The present war has rendered much of the material inaccessible.

Probably all of the armies participating in the Thirty Years' War had their chaplains. The generals on all sides were careful to see that their men had the moral stimulus and the spiritual comfort of a chaplain's ministrations.

Gustavus Adolphus depended not only on a rapidly moving army, but on one that was as sound morally and spiritually as he could make it. He would not tolerate duelling, neither would he allow the soldiery to waste the country through which they passed. To attain his purposes, he appointed a chaplain-general and two chaplains in each regiment. Fabritius, the chaplain-general, was given full direction of the religious department and was responsible for the morale of the army. Gustavus Adolphus and Fabritius held constant conferences. The king imparted all his plans to his chaplain. It was to Fabritius that the king confided his foreboding of death as he waited for the battle of Lützen to break. Strongly supported by the king, Fabritius had prayers and hymns before going into action, and without question he carried on a large work of religious influence between the times of conflict. What this was in detail, I shall not be able to know until I can secure the diary of Fabritius. Thus far I have been unable to find it in any of the many libraries I have examined. It is extant, how-

ever, and it should prove of surpassing interest and value.

In Naegele's *Benedict Rauh von Wiblingen* there is material dealing with Romanist chaplains during the Thirty Years' War. If we may take Rauh as an example of a method and a habit of life, it is clear that the chaplain-general was appointed by the commanding officer after papers of permission were received from the pope; that he was subject not to the bishop of the diocese through which the army might be passing, but to an army bishop especially appointed by the pope; and that he might appoint his associates. Rauh was taken from the monastery of Wiblingen by papal permission; he was appointed chaplain-general by the commander of the Bavarian armies; he directed as to whom he would like to have as fellow chaplains; he was subject to a field bishop. His conduct, however, may or may not indicate the behaviour of the average Roman chaplain-general. The *Vita* reads as follows:—"He was so popular in camp that the men carried him on their shoulders. The generals confided in him the secrets of their hearts, sought his advice, imparted to him the plans of their campaigns and the movements of their armies, and nothing of moment was undertaken until after it had been laid before the general-vicar. He prayed with the men before going into action; during the battle he cared for the fallen; he never ceased praying, like a second Moses, until his army had won the victory. Freiburg had him to thank that it was delivered from the enemy."[1] Like a good chaplain Rauh does not tell where he is. The whereabouts of the troops must reveal the whereabouts of Rauh. Like Fabritius, he used his influence against concubinage and duelling. He was so deeply respected that he was asked to sit at the Osnabrück peace-table, a tribute probably to the fairness of his mind. Naegele gives an attractive picture of a very forceful personality, vitally concerned in the religious condition of the army. Doubtless

[1] Naegele, as cited, p. 87.

further research among contemporary documents might duplicate the story.

Passing now to the end of the eighteenth century, the American Revolutionary War presents certain aspects of the chaplain's life that are at once in harmony with tradition and in opposition to it. With the outbreak of the Revolution, many clergy connected themselves with their fighting parishioners and went into action with them. They seemed to have no credentials apart from those they supplied themselves. Others sought commissions from the governors of the colonies from which they came. They were a kind of state militia chaplain. Others still were apparently commissioned by the authorities of the national army. Apparently they had enlisted for the duration of the war. Within these groups were many men of excellent quality like Dr. Duché, Timothy Dwight, Samuel Spring and Thomas Allen. There were others of more or less doubtful enthusiasm for the more active aspects of the chaplain's life, like Joel Barlow. The former group expressed themselves both in writing and in action as men of passionate devotion to their cause, while Barlow wrote to his fiancée that his heart lay more in verse-making than in the care of the soldiers. It is evident that he dwelt more on the favor which he had received at Washington's table than on the satisfaction he found in the spiritual experiences of the men.

In a measure we see in these men the types of the chaplains of the American Civil War and of the Great War—those working near their parishes, those enlisting for a special purpose, and those enlisting for regular work in the standard army. On the whole they were an excellent lot, and they deservedly enjoyed the warm support of Washington.

On December 31, 1775, Washington wrote to the Continental Congress as follows: "I have long had it in my mind to mention it

to Congress, that frequently applications have been made to me respecting the chaplain's pay, which is too small to encourage men of abilities. Some of them who have left their flocks are obliged to pay the parson acting for them more than they receive. I need not point out the great utility of gentlemen, whose lives and conversation are exceptionable, being employed in that service in the army. There are two ways of making it worthy the attention of such. One is advancement in their pay; the other that one chaplain be appointed to two regiments. This last can be done without inconvenience. I beg leave to recommend this latter to Congress, whose sentiments hereon I shall impatiently expect." (Headley, 62, 63.)

The respect for the chaplains' place in the army was nothing new to Washington, for he had urged that they be appointed in the British army during the French and Indian War. Recognizing the wisdom of his point of view, Congress quickly followed his advice.

Mere mention of the conduct of certain of these chaplains will justify the estimate in which Washington held the office. Their bravery has not been excelled by chaplains of earlier or later wars. Samuel Spring shared with his men the awful privations of the expedition to Quebec. With them he drank soup made of boiled mocassins, following the scant ration with a sermon which buoyed up the spirits of the disheartened soldiers. Thomas Allen went into action with his men, ministered to the dying, mounted his horse and returned to his parish to preach on Sunday. He was not a good Jesuit, for occasionally he was suspected of employing other than spiritual weapons.

One of his parishioners (a better Jesuit) hearing that he had fought like a common soldier, came to him and inquired if it was so. "Yes," he said. "I did. It was a very hot, close battle, and it became every patriot to do his duty." "Well, but," said the parishioner, "Mr. Allen, did you kill anybody?" "No," he replied, "I don't know that I killed anybody; but I happened to

notice a frequent flash behind a certain bush, and every time I saw the flash one of our men fell. I took aim at the bush and fired. I don't know that I killed anybody, but I put out that flash."

John Gano was with Washington's army at Harlem and White Plains. After the fight at Chatterton's Hill he said:

My station in time of action I knew to be among the surgeons; but in this battle I somehow got in front of the regiment, yet I durst not quit my place for fear of dampening the spirits of the soldiers, or of bringing on me an imputation of cowardice. Rather than do either I chose to risk my fate.

James Hall made the somewhat unusual combination of captain and chaplain seeing nothing incongruous in the union, and discharging the duties of each position to the satisfaction of those who obeyed his orders and listened to his sermons.

It may readily be seen that these Revolutionary chaplains showed all the marks of the courage which accompanies a crusade and all the unconventionality which attends a mission. They were a totally unorganized lot; they had no chaplain-general; they were officers of a regiment rather than members of a chaplains' corps; they allowed their function rather than their rank to justify their presence in the army. Nevertheless, they manifested those characteristics which have marked the chaplains since the earliest days—bravery, personal interest in the soldiers, heartening the men for the fighting, ministering to their spiritual need, comforting the wounded and dying, keeping the idea of God constantly before the minds of the men.

The Civil War in the United States was accompanied by manifestations of remarkable spiritual vitality, particularly in the South. On both sides, however, religious activity was vigorous, both among the enlisted men and among the

people interested in them. To the more religious soldiers of the Federal and Confederate troops the war was a crusade; many officers and men later turned to the ministry for their life work. The non-sectarian Army Church, of huge membership, was a sign of the fellowship of religion created by a common cause.

To meet the need and the demand there arose three kinds of chaplains—the ministers of parishes near the camps where the troops were stationed for a fairly long period (for example the ministers of Richmond were exceptionally active among the soldiers of the Confederate Army); the voluntary chaplains, or men who left their parishes to devote themselves exclusively to the camps; and the commissioned chaplains, who were attached to a regiment and went with the troops into every part of the campaign. There is copious material for every aspect of this threefold religious work in the forms of history and of biography. Personal acquaintances with some of the men who acted in one of these capacities will have thrown for many of us a vivid light on the work they did. The late J. Henry Thayer and the late Edward Hall, Henry Clay Trumbull, and Randolph McKim, the last two of whom have written their autobiographies, are among those whom many have known and from whom a vital conception of the religious work of the Civil War has been gained.

Here again the time-hallowed characteristics of the chaplain appear. Arthur Fuller, the brother of Margaret Fuller Ossoli, ministered to his Massachusetts regiment as long as his health would allow. After honorable discharge he was killed while acting as a common soldier in an emergency engagement. As a chaplain he was non-combatant; as a soldier he carried arms. Father Corby gathered Protestants and Romanists before going into action at Gettysburg, offered to give them the absolution of the Church if they were penitent, pronounced the absolution in Latin and then

went into action with his men. It was one of the most dramatic scenes ever enacted on a battlefield. Randolph McKim passed through the first part of the war as an officer. Shortly before Gettysburg he determined to carry out his resolution to prepare himself for the ministry. After six months of study, he reported again to his regiment, became its chaplain, and thereafter shared the experience of his men whatever that might be—always, however, as a non-combatant. "Holy John," on the other hand, always went for the mail when his regiment was called upon to run any risks. Trumbull was very actively engaged in hospital work as well as in the other aspects of a chaplain's duties. There was nothing new in any of these functions. Chaplains of an earlier day were occupied in a similar manner. Nevertheless in all that they did there was that old element which is forever new: they tried to keep their men near God through the word and the sacrament and through personal interviews; they attended personally to the wounded and the dying; they tried to maintain a high standard of individual and corporate morality; they attempted to convey to the soldiers their own conception of the lofty nature of their mission. In these things they frequently coöperated with their superior officers who wished their men to conduct themselves like Christians, whether they were on the march, engaged with the enemy, or preparing for another world.

During the nineteenth century the Prussian authorities took thorough measures so to organize the chaplains that the religious needs of both Protestants and Romanists might be gratified. Two *Feldpröbste*, representing respectively the different faiths, responsible to the war-minister, were appointed. The Romanist is a titular bishop and is the ecclesiastical superior of the soldiers of his communion. The organization throughout the army is complete, there being Lutheran and Roman chaplains of corps and divisions. When the history of the Great War is written, it will be

interesting to discover how effectively this organization worked, and how efficiently the chaplains did their duty.

The chaplains of the British army at the present time are of two kinds, chaplains to the forces, or commissioned chaplains, and temporary chaplains, who may be appointed for special work. The chaplains to the forces consist of Church of England, Roman Catholic, and Presbyterian officers. Only the Church of England chaplains report to the chaplain-general; others report to the war office. The Romanists, in consequence of the labors of Manning and Wiseman, are in no way whatsoever connected with the staff of the chaplain-general. During the present war these men have given an honourable account of themselves, no less than fifty having been killed in action. When we know the details of their work more intimately, we shall find that they have lived true to the bravest traditions of their calling.

The present war has introduced into England and into this country as well a new institution. So far as I know the chaplains' training school has been brought into existence in both countries to meet the double demand that chaplains shall be at once well informed soldiers and men conscious of a spiritual mission. In England, if I am correctly informed, the emphasis is laid on the spiritual mission; in this country on military training. There is also an American chaplains' training school in France, the primary and apparently sole object of which is to impart to men on their way to the front a vivid realization of the spiritual opportunities opening before them. The English school was probably first in point of time. The American movement was begun, however, in total ignorance of the British experiment. Within this country there were two independent attempts which finally resulted in the Training School, the first session of which was at Fortress Monroe, later sessions being at Camp Zachary Taylor. The one was warmly supported by representatives of the General War-Time Commission of the Churches, and

was abandoned only when the Commission was assured by the War Department that nothing either could or would be done. The other was conceived and developed by representatives of the Episcopal Theological School and of the Harvard Divinity School in Cambridge. The latter project in outline was laid before the deans of the Cambridge Schools within a few days after the outbreak of war. Whether the former project was ever presented in careful detail to the War Department, I am unable to say. The Cambridge plan was enlarged until it included not only the three Schools situated in Cambridge, but also the Methodist School in Boston and the Baptist School at Newton. The plan was then presented to the War Department early in February 1918. Coincident with the visit of the Cambridge representatives to Washington, the War Department intrusted the formation of the school to Major A. A. Pruden. Both plans were explained at a meeting of the Washington Committee on Chaplains of the Federal Council of Churches. Major Pruden's plan received the support of the Federal Council. About March 1 its first session opened at Fortress Monroe altogether under military auspices. The Cambridge plan differed radically from the War Department's plan in that the latter frankly omitted the religious emphasis while the former would have laid primary stress on the spiritual mission of the chaplain.

I mention these facts in some detail, because the Training School is the one contribution which the present war has made to the history of the chaplain. If the chronicler is permitted to prophesy, I would venture the suggestion that the next step will be the introduction into the chaplain's training of a more thorough drill in his spiritual opportunity and in the way in which he may take advantage of it, for the present war has amply shown that men of different religious points of view may associate in the attainment of a common religious purpose. The school in France supplies

the necessary support for the reasonableness of the forecast.

In the forces of the United States the chaplains in this country have been of a four-fold character—the ministers of parishes near the camps; voluntary or civilian chaplains, giving their whole time to the soldiers, although not receiving commissions; commissioned chaplains who have enlisted for the duration of the war only; and commissioned chaplains of the regular army, men who have entered the army as a life work. On this side of the water, there has been no organization whatsoever. On the other side of the seas, the United States chaplains have been of a three-fold character—chaplains commissioned for the duration of the war; chaplains belonging to the regular army; and Red Cross chaplains (many of this last classification have been commissioned in the army, it being the purpose of the War Department to have all chaplains subject to one authority). The chaplains overseas have been organized and directed by a senior headquarters chaplain and two associates, representing respectively the Protestant Episcopal, the Congregational, and the Roman Churches. Each division has its senior chaplain responsible to the General Headquarters Chaplain and his associates. Like Gustavus Adolphus and Washington, General Pershing has shown the profoundest concern in the organization and in the work of the chaplain; like his illustrious predecessors, he has looked to the chaplains to conserve the morale of the soldiers so that every atom of their manhood may be ready for the fight, and to stimulate the religion of the soldiers so that they may look upon their work as a mission and may carry it through with credit to themselves, their country, and mankind. If history has to do with the immediate present, it may also be said that a mighty effort has been made to introduce on this side of the water an organization like that overseas, but without success. The strong demand of the Christian Churches that

this, or something similar, be done has met with repeated rebuffs from the War Department.

An important aspect of the chaplain's life would be omitted if nothing were said of the organized support given him by the Christian Churches—a novel chapter in his experience. Information from other countries is not yet accessible, but in the United States there has been an unparalleled effort to supply the chaplain with the equipment he plainly needs but which the War Department will not furnish. Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been raised and have been placed in the hands of competent persons so that the chaplain may have means for administering the sacrament in a reverent manner and so that he may have the resources with which to keep the minds and souls of his men on a high plane. History is full of instances of lavish charity bestowed on chaplains, but the carefully and intelligently systematized assistance is a matter of the last eighteen months. Not the War Department, but rather the Christian Churches, have made it possible for the chaplain to act with freedom and with power.

It would also be wrong to leave the chaplain without a word in regard to the spirit in which he has done his work in this last war. The records of his story are legion. He has remained without complaint in the dull training camp; he has plied to and fro across the Atlantic in the transport; he has held conferences and personal interviews with soldiers at home and abroad; he has ministered in evacuation and base hospitals; he has prayed with his men before going into action, and he has, with his men, prayed for the enemy the instant before meeting them in battle. Although he has in one instance discovered the snipers with his glasses and directed the fire of the artillery toward the right point, he has almost invariably gone into battle and gone over the top, unarmed; he has laid down his life through accident, disease and battle for the cause; he has been called into

council by his commanding officers; he has been praised by them for supplying the character which wins dreadful battles; in the heat of fighting he has made it plain to his comrades that there is a kingdom of God. He and his colleagues have vastly increased both in numbers and in power that glorious company of the ministers of God who since the days of St. Martin have kept the soldier aware of a loving Father and a righteous God.

The Influence of the War Upon the Study of Church History

By
George Edwin Horr

THE INFLUENCE OF THE WAR UPON THE STUDY OF CHURCH HISTORY

By George Edwin Horr, D.D., LL.D., President of Newton Theological Institute, Newton Center, Mass.

(*The Presidential Address, read December 29, 1919*)

WE are becoming very familiar with the dictum that August, 1914, marked the close of an age, and that, since the Armistice, we are living in an entirely new world. Everything is changing, and it is beyond the wit of man to forecast the resultant social, economic, political and religious order. Of course, all pursuits are affected by this prodigious shifting of the human outlook, and it seemed as if it would be appropriate to this annual meeting of the American Society of Church History if I should devote the time given to the preliminary address to an attempt to appraise briefly the influence of the Great War upon the studies to which we are devoted.

I

Let me notice, then, in the first place, that the present situation does much to interpret the past. "History is the study of reality through the process of its development," and we are never weary of asserting that we know nothing truly unless we know it genetically, historically. The story of the past throws its vivid light upon the present. But the converse in a less degree, perhaps, is also true. We only know the past in the light of the present. The present is the outcome and the product of long-working forces, and their nature,

power and interplay are revealed by the issue. It is impossible by any chemical or microscopic analysis to forecast that the force locked up in tiny three-cornered brown seeds will develop a flower that has the mysterious and beautiful faculty of opening to the morning sun, and closing when the sun reaches the zenith. In the infancy of a plant or animal we may find a germ or bud that study of the mature organ shows to have been of the utmost significance to the fulfilment of its function; or, conversely, organs that are of great importance to the young, like the tail of a polywog, may disappear in later development or remain as vestiges.

Our study of Church History has suffered greatly from the fact that too little regard has commonly been paid to the forces that are simply human, rather than technically religious,—the economic, social, and political influences—and to-day, in the present complex issue, we are forced to recognize in the study of Church History many neglected factors. It was the peculiar service of Neander that he correlated, more adequately than had been done before, the theological with the social and liturgic aspects of church life. He had the insight that even the development of doctrine did not take place *in vacuo*, but was profoundly influenced by the prevailing types of social relations of Christians to one another and to the world, and by the ideals of worship. But Neander did not appreciate the influence upon the history of the Church coming from the economic, political, and artistic tendencies of the various periods, or the mutual reactions of the current religious ideals and contemporary types of civilization. We are certain that these reactions took place, unless human nature has radically changed. Such considerations make us aware of our poverty, and that too often we are led to generalize from insufficient data. Even with all the materials that have come down to us from the fourth century of our era, probably most of us are keenly aware that the facts for an imaginative

reconstruction of that period are lamentably inadequate. If one should spend a few days in the Antioch of Chrysostom, become familiar with the sights and sounds of its streets, buy in its shops, be shaved in a barber's chair, over-hear the talk of the slaves, or be at supper with a well-to-do citizen and listen to a discussion as to the latest church censure—he would gain an insight into the crisis which the preaching of Chrysostom confronted, and the actual conditions which exerted a subtle and continuous pressure on the Christian community, that might totally reconstruct our mental picture of the Church of that day.

The interest in the life of John Wycliffe that followed the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of his translation of the Bible has resulted in throwing a flood of light as to the relation of economic and social forces, upon the religious activities and ideals of that important period. Wycliffe's theology is cast in the thought-forms of feudalism and sometimes it is difficult to say whether statecraft or theology is his primary interest. He became the elect favorite voice of the English-speaking world for the rights of English nationalism as against the overlordship of a foreign church, and he seems to have been driven as slowly but as inevitably as Martin Luther to a readjustment of his religious attitude to his political and social theories. The notion that his career was due to spiritual forces which in time reacted in social and political life is almost wholly misleading. Wycliffe began as a patriotic Englishman and his reformatory work in religion would have been impossible without its close connection with the social and political movements of this time.

Of late there has been an increasing recognition of this interplay of so-called "secular" with spiritual forces; and as applied, for example, to the history of the German Reformation, there has been a tendency in a certain school of historians to press a consideration of the secular to the

exclusion of the spiritual, but that ought not to make us indifferent to the large measure of truth involved in the general position. Certainly it is true that the Reformation did not begin as a protest against the false doctrine of the Church, but as a protest against the corruption and graft in the Church and the financial and political exploitation of Germany. The doctrinal rift opened and widened slowly. As a recent essayist has said,

> Political and social motives played quite as strong a part with the supporters and the opponents of the Reformation as the religious motives, except with the Anabaptists, and even with them Social hopes were a strong factor.

Now the situation created by the Great War is certain to correct this error in our interpretation of recent church history. The present certainly has been created by the past. Forces and tendencies long in operation have come to a climax in the Christian world of our time. We see the interplay of human passions and of religious ideals, the influence of economic and political forces upon the actual civilization in which we live. Religious and church life are not separated by compartments from the secular life of our time. The reactions are intimate and profound.

When, therefore, we consider the present world-situation with all its complexities and anomalies, the persistent domination of material over spiritual forces, after twenty Christian centuries, and would understand these times in their genetic relations, we are constrained to a fresh study of our ancient records, and to a fresh interpretation of them in the light of all attainable data no matter how far these data may lie from the distinctively religious sphere.

II

Another influence of the War upon these studies is that it has led us to a new realization of the contribution of

Church History to the solution of our present problems. The War has thrust into prominence certain great issues, like the nature of the state, and its relation to the individual, to the Church, and to other states, and above all the question of democracy. Now these are not new problems. In the European world they emerge in the radically different conceptions held by Plato and by Aristotle. Hitherto much of our study of Church History has been devoted to tracing the evolution of doctrine, the strifes of parties within the Church, and the varying theories of the nature and function of the Church itself. But the problems that we may call political, in contrast with the theological, were always of great importance, and held a large place in the life and thought of the different periods. Heretofore very little attention has been paid to these matters in the study of Church History, but unless we are willing to accept political theories without reference to their genetic development, and without reference to the formative influence of Christianity upon them, we shall be obliged to consider the history of the Church from a novel angle, and may we not believe that such studies will throw a vivid light upon the discussions which are so suddenly emerging as the direct outcome of the War?

It is quite evident as Prof. John Watson of Queen's College, Canada, has pointed out in his recent volume, *The State in Peace and War*, that the political theory of the Christian Fathers from the second century to the seventh was in essence identical with that of the Roman lawyers of the same period. They started with the idea of natural law as the law of man's reason; but while the lawyers based this on the Stoic view that all men are of a kindred nature, they reached this same result by the assumption grounded in the teaching of St. Paul that human nature is something transcending all distinctions of rank and station and even nationality. The Roman lawyers and the Fathers differed

in the source of authority. The former traced it back to the people, while the latter held that justice is not created by the civil power, for beyond it is the ecclesiastical, which is not so much within the state, as it is a principle of authority parallel to, and independent of it.

The political theorists of the ninth century strove to reconcile their own Germanic conceptions with the teachings of the Fathers, and held that the ruler received his power directly from God. Such a conclusion inevitably involved the delimitation of the respective spheres of Church and state. The investiture controversy is no mere by-way of Church History, but it involves an issue that is still of paramount importance. Even our modern principle of the separation of Church and state is not a complete solution of the problem, and the literature of that controversy in the Medieval Church is full of suggestion for our own times.

The historians of political theories have usually emphasized the merchants' guilds and the Hanseatic League as the seedbed of democracy, but, as Guizot points out, there was from the beginning a strong democratic influence in the Church itself, and the Christian Church was the only organization that for a thousand years kept a career open to talent, so that Hildebrand, the son of a peasant, became Pope, and Wolsey, the son of a grazier, became the mighty cardinal.

It is significant that the long-drawn contest between the Realists and the Nominalists should have finally resulted in that difference between Duns Scotus (d. 1308) and William of Occam (d. 1349) which led the latter, as a Nominalist, to maintain against the claims of the papacy, the independence of the princes in all temporal affairs, and their subordination to the Church, and their responsibility to God alone. It is probable that William of Occam was the first to maintain this doctrine within the circle of the Church during the Scholastic period. But he was a contemporary

of Dante and of Marsiglio of Padua. And it is worth noting that Dante (1265–1321), in his famous treatise, *De Monarchia*, insisted that the Empire derived its rights directly from God and not from the Church, which has no authority over the Empire, which is necessary to the well-being of mankind, since the end of society is unity and unity is only possible through obedience to one head. The works of Egidius of Rome and of John of Paris developed Dante's general position.[1] But it was reserved for Marsiglio of Padua to develop to the full the implications.

We are fortunate in having the work of Marsiglio treated in the next paper this morning by a most competent authority, and it is quite enough for me to say that Marsiglio went far toward advocating the type of democracy represented by the phrase "government of the people, by the people and for the people."

The Christianity of the fifteenth century repudiated the theories of Machiavelli (1469–1527), which have had such a striking exemplification in the political theories of Treitszche and Bernhardi. Why were they repudiated then, and why are they to be maintained or to be repudiated by us? Has the Church historian no contribution to make toward a conclusive answer?

The relation of nationalism and inter-nationalism is involved in the discussions that are now convulsing the world as the result of the embodiment of the League of Nations in the Treaty of Peace with Germany. Students of Church History cannot forget that for nearly a thousand years from the time when Honorious cowered in the marshes of Ravenna to the time when the downfall of Boniface VIII fulfilled the prophecy that he would come in like a fox, reign like a lion, and die like a dog, Western Europe was under the supergovernment and overlordship of the papacy. There was one tribunal that served as a possible

[1] See Goldast, *Monarchia S. Romani Imperi*, Vol. iii, pp. 95 and 108.

court of appeals in all cases: there was one voice that could be heard above the clamor of princes and governors. The rise of nationalities has involved a doctrine of sovereignty, which has come to mean the right of every nation to do as it pleases. The doctrine of unlimited sovereignty, coming principally from Hobbes, is the most serious of all menaces to the peace of the world. So long as the nations flaunt this right, and resent any limitation whatever upon it, any league of peace is practically impossible. The dominance of the papacy solved this problem in the Middle Ages. No one, not an Ultra-montanist, could regard with composure any attempt to secure the peace of the world on such a basis. But does not that for which the papacy ideally stood, the pre-eminence of moral and spiritual forces, suggest the limitation upon national sovereignty that opens a fair way to peace? Are there not common moral considerations that limit sovereignty? And will not the common recognition of them remove one of the principal obstacles to a good understanding between nations?

If in the words of President Wilson "public right takes precedence over the individual interests of particular nations," will not this common recognition of public right be the modern substitute for the overlordship of the papacy?

III

In the third place, while the Great War has thrown new light upon the past and has given us some aid of experience in solving the problems of the present, it has enormously widened our actual contacts and constrained us to broaden our studies.

On the side of the Entente Allies the War in its progress and in its result was marked by a cosmopolitanism unexampled in history. One had only to visit the British, French, and Italian fronts to realize that the ends of the earth had

been brought together to withstand the rush of the Central Powers.

And now the representatives of Western Christianity find themselves involved in the closest relations with Christian churches of a different tradition and a separate evolution.

I take it that for the average intelligent English-speaking Christian, Bishop Creighton's account of the imperial coronation at Moscow, viewed in connection with the various attempts for a reconciliation between the Greek Church and the Church of England, greatly broadened our view of the sphere of Church History. Now we are bound to enter this new field. The relations between Constantinople and Armenia and Egypt and Persia are becoming so close that we are compelled to study Greek and Nestorian and Armenian and Coptic Christianity.

It will not do to say that these represent degraded types. Then we are bound to know the history of the downward evolution, but some of us cannot believe that such statements are wholly true. It may be that closer knowledge of these faiths will reveal important human reactions to the Christian religion that we have not appreciated. May we not look, as a result of the War, to a time, in the near future, when one will not consult the standard church histories in vain for authoritative delineations of the evolution of important representatives of our common Christianity that some would rather opprobriously characterize as "our poor relations?" May we not anticipate that, before long our scholars will give us histories for the Orthodox Eastern Church that will at least bear some faint comparison with what has been done for the more obscure subdivisions of the Western Church? As the case now stands, we are almost limited to Stanley, Neale, Adeny, Cole, and Fortescue.

I cannot close this paper better than by referring to that famous paragraph of Dean Stanley, in which, after raising the question whether any Christian church or community

has exhausted the resources of the Christian faith, he answered in substance that a serious comparison of the actual contents of the Scriptures with the actual course of ecclesiastical events almost inevitably brings us to the conclusion that the existing materials, principles, and doctrines of the Christian religion are far greater than have ever yet been employed.

> Look at the Bible on the one hand, and History on the other! See what are the points on which the Scriptures lay most emphatic stress, think, think how much of the sap and life of Christendom has been to leaf and not to fruit. . . . We cannot, with these experiences, hesitate to say, that if the Christian church be drawing to its end, or if it continues to its end with no other objects than those which it has hitherto sought, it will end with its acknowledged resources confessedly undeveloped, its finest hopes of usefulness almost untried and unattempted. It will have been like a genial spring cut short in full view of the summer, a stately vessel wrecked within very sight of the shore.

Is it not clear that the situations created by the War inevitably constrain us to utilize our resources for a more adequate appreciation of some neglected features in our study of the past, for gaining a clearer light upon the problems of the present, and for a more intelligent and sympathetic insight into every phase of Christian development? As historians we have our own important contributions to make to a more adequate utilization in our modern world of all the resources of our common faith.

Aims and Methods of Teaching Church History

By

Robert Hastings Nichols

AIMS AND METHODS OF TEACHING CHURCH HISTORY

By Robert Hastings Nichols, PhD., D.D., Professor of Church History in Auburn Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y.

(*The Presidential Address, read December 27, 1920*)

LOOKING over the published proceedings of our Society, I find no mention of the reading of a paper dealing with what is the occupation of about half of our members, the teaching of Church History. Discussions of this subject are recorded, but no formal treatment. Therefore, it has seemed not inappropriate to consider in this address some questions which constantly present themselves in the daily work of many here present. Our business is teaching Church History, and with almost all it is this teaching as a part of the training of men for the Christian ministry. Were there no such training, there would be little teaching of the subject to which our Society is devoted. The *raîson d'être* of our teaching must vitally affect it. We are bound by every sort of obligation to keep always in view the practical purpose which gives us being as teachers.

Church History has been in the curriculum of American schools of training for the ministry since the first appearance of such institutions. It is a recognized standard part of such training. We are not under the necessity of winning a place for our subject. But in revolutionary days in education no places are secure. And we are under the necessity of so managing our teaching that our subject shall not only keep its traditional place, but also realize more of its endless possibilities of service. Our problem is so to teach Church

History that it shall have the maximum usefulness as an element of ministerial training.

The time given to the subject is a determining condition of the problem, and therefore ought at once to come before us. How large a part of the work of theological students does Church History form? An inspection of catalogues will show that, in general, it is not so large as it used to be. The increase in the number of subjects taught in our institutions, which makes the theological curriculum often a mighty maze and all without a plan, and the operation of elective systems, have reduced our share of time. In the catalogues one frequently finds mention of prescribed work in Church History for two hours a week through two years. In some cases the requirement is larger, in others it is smaller. In some cases there is no requirement. Elective choices enlarge the time given to Church History by that non-existent but necessary person called the average student. We hope and trust that these choices in Church History are extensive; but it is impossible to get any account of them. Probably the afore-mentioned frequent requirement, two hours a week for two years, is not far from the average student's time in our subject. This makes one hundred and twenty hours altogether, the theological year being almost everywhere of thirty weeks or thereabouts. This amount is less than one-tenth of the total time of ministerial training. It is about equal to one three-hour university course, the university year usually running near to forty weeks. What shall be our objective for the use of this time, which we all think inadequate, but which we cannot materially increase?

Another condition of our problem should also be before our minds now—probably it is never anywhere else. This is the preparation of our students, in the vital matter of knowledge of general history. Our teaching of Church History is effect ve in direct ratio to the students' amount of such knowledge. For the thing we most want the students to

get hold of is what Christianity has done in the world, how it has affected thought and action, what impression it has made on society. Our chief interest, as teachers striving to equip men for the work of the Christian ministry in this present world, is not in institutions and rites and doctrines *per se*, much less in the championship of denominational causes. Our chief interest is in the achievements of Christianity among men. For our subject, as we wish to put it before our students, a better name than Church History would be the title of Bartlet and Carlyle's book, *Christianity in History* But it need not be said that to a study having this interest, knowledge of the world in which Christianity has operated is all-important.

When I was about to take up the teaching of Church History, I asked an experienced member of our Society how much knowledge of general history among the students one might assume. He answered that some of them had heard of the migrations of the peoples, and that was about the extent. Subsequent experience has sometimes caused me to think this no joke. The level of historical knowledge among American college graduates is certainly not high. And an embarrassment about equal to the low level is the great difference among our students in this matter. This whole situation must affect our thoughts about method, and also our thoughts about object.

We are faced here with a difficulty which some meet by falling into an attitude of intellectual contempt toward the human material. The effect of this is to reduce to small proportions real teaching, that is facing the actual conditions of the student and endeavoring to develop him, and to confine the teacher's activity to detached expression of his own knowledge and opinions. The temptation to all this we have all felt, and probably more or less yielded to. But we should betray our responsibility if we allowed this spirit to have power over us. We must cherish worthy aims for

the effect of our teaching on the student, and press toward them in the midst of material not the best.

What then shall be the aim of our teaching? It cannot be, with the generality of the students, to train scholars in Church History. A good deal might be said about the usefulness for ministerial service of expert knowledge, in history or something else. There are eminent ministerial careers which might be appealed to on this point. But we know very well that if we should adopt this aim, we should not attain it, in the cases of the majority of those we have to deal with. The conditions of time and of preparation referred to would prevent its attainment, if everything else were favorable. Every one of us has a few students who desire training of this kind, and can receive it. These are our joy and crown. We ought to do all we can to increase their number. American theological study is weak at the point of rearing up scholars. But for three quarters of our students, or more, the objective of making scholars in Church History is not in consideration. The capacity and the time and the inclination are lacking. What shall be our aim with this great majority?

We might move toward an answer by considering the aims of the study in general. Professor Heainshaw has recently outlined these, in his inaugural address in London. History, he says, provides a peculiar intellectual culture. It trains the mind in the weighing of evidence, in the calculation of motive from action, in the tracing of cause and effect. Langlois and Seignobos think that the chief usefulness of studying history is found in such results.

History also provides a moral culture. It brings the student into a larger and nobler life than his own. He gains contact with great men and thoughts and deeds. He feels the appeal of high causes and the power of vast movements. Observing the triumphs and the tragedies of the life of mankind, he realizes the possibilities and the urgency of

every man's action. From all this he cannot but gain purifying and strengthening of character. One thinks of Bishop Burnet's account of Lawrence Charteris, minister of Dirleton, who "had gone through the chief parts of learning, but was most conversant with history, as the innocentest sort of study, that did not fill the mind with subtlety, but helped to make a man wiser and better."

Again, history equips its students for the duties of citizenship. Some knowledge of the past of his own country and others is needful for a man's intelligent discharge of political responsibilities, and for effective work for the welfare of his community and his nation. As Professor Pollard recently wrote, "The man who sees only the present is more than half blind, and the politician and voter without some historical knowledge is like a submarine without a periscope."

The last point in Professor Hearnshaw's outline is that a knowledge of history is needful for a man who would have any understanding of the world. "The supreme function of history," he says, "is to help to make the existing state of things intelligible." Not long ago I read an account of a discussion among some eminent English historians of the use of the study of history for ordinary students. The result, after considerable display of technical vocabulary, could be and was stated in words that are simple and old-fashioned, though full enough of meaning. The principal use, they agreed to say, was "to make wise men." One is reminded again of Lawrence Charteris's reason for prizing history, that it "helped to make a man wiser and better."

Does this account of the possible uses of historical study in general throw light on what ought to be the objects of the teaching of our particular part of history? Do these ideas find places in a conception of what Church History ought to do for the men who are to be the teachers and leaders of the Church?

For their teaching of Christian truth, these men need the

peculiar intellectual culture which history can give. They need all they will get of it, and they need to get some of it in the particular field in which their teaching is to be done, in contact with the kind of facts with which they will have to deal. Some common defects of the preaching of our ministers would be remedied by more of precisely this culture, by training in judging evidence, in drawing sound inductions, in reasonably connecting cause and effect, in making accurate statement. Especially when they undertake to apply Christian principles to modern political and social conditions, as they are and ought to be doing more and more, ministers are prone to rash and hasty generalizations, to fallacious argument concerning results and origins, and also, one regrets to say, to loose handling of facts. These faults turn away thoughtful listeners, and cause congregations to be built up in something other than the truth. They would be much less in evidence if the ministry had had more of the discipline which historical study can give. Certainly to make Christian preachers more careful and reliable thinkers is a worthy work. And if the study of Church History can do this, as it assuredly can, then one of our objects in teaching ought to be to realize the possibilities, in our subject, for intellectual culture.

The future ministers of our Church need for their ministry the moral culture which the history of Christianity can supply. We have all seen this use of Church History exemplified. A student comes, let us say, from the religious environment formed by a small church, in whose life is much of the petty and the sordid. At present the majority of theological students originate in small towns and the country. Our student's education in college has not much enlarged and elevated his conceptions of religious things. For him the Christian Church is still pretty much his own little church and others like it. Of a whole world beyond, he has small realization. Such a man takes up the reading of Church

History, very likely not expecting, as he says, to get much out of it. He finds himself in a new and infinitely spacious world. He has contact with great Christians who differ in many ways from what he has known in religion, but whose strength and godliness and goodness he cannot but honor. His ideas of Christian truth are wonderfully widened. He lives in some of the great life of the Church, and thrills to its battles and defeats and victories. He sees Christianity exerting a power of which he had no sense, moving the world in ways undreamed of by him. Can this fail to make him a larger and stronger man? Is it not certain that he will bring to his ministry a richer and nobler personality?

This may be an extreme case, but it is not an imaginary case. Just such experiences actually take place. And all of our students, however privileged their earlier lives, have something of this experience, if Church History is made at all real to them, and if they pay any serious attention to it. In the degrees according to which these conditions are satisfied, the students gain moral endowment, development and fortifying of personality. Now, it is platitudinous to say that personality is the largest part of the working force of a minister. Since we have in our hands a means of adding much to this, surely it ought to be one of our aims to make our subject yield its largest possible service in this respect.

The use of history in training for citizenship has its application to Church History. Men on whom is to lie much of the responsibility for the direction of the affairs of the Church greatly need acquaintance with the Church's past. Everything that can be said about the importance for democratic government of the spread of sound historical knowledge bears with full force on the framing of church policy and the management of church action. In order to plan wisely and administer effectively, men must have some background of knowledge of what has been done in other days, in their own part of the Church and other parts. In

the conduct of church affairs, one often sees the harm caused by historical ignorance. Policies are adopted which experience has shown to be mistaken. Situations are viewed and decisions made on them *de novo*, when guiding principles lie ready to hand in the Church's meeting of earlier situations, if only somebody knew about them. Cases in point will suggest themselves to anybody familiar with church business. Here is a very real and valuable part of the service of Church History to the ministry; and if the teachers of the subject do not strive to get a good portion of this into the training of the ministry, they will be losing a large opportunity.

Our last point as to the use of history in general was that it helps "to make the existing state of things intelligible." This directly suggests a use of Church History as important as any we have mentioned. It can give help toward the interpretation of life. This sounds tremendous; but this is what the men who are to be teachers of the Church in pulpits and classes are going to undertake to do. And no study can contribute more to their preparation for such work than that of our subject. The preaching of men who have some of the wisdom which history can give is a different thing from that of men who lack this insight. In treating the social applications of Christianity, the man trained in history has a range and penetration, and a power of persuasion, that are denied to those not so equipped. They who are to expound Christian truth and bring it to bear on life must be far less effective if they work without the light on the movement of the world which is thrown by knowledge of Christian history. Their task is to tell other men what Christianity means for the life of to-day, and this they can only half perform, if they do not come to it with minds enlightened by some knowledge of what Christianity has meant in other days.

To teach history so as "to make wise men"—simple

words, but hazardous business. And uncomfortable business, for men who are careful about opinions and interpretations. Yet because there is so great a possibility of service to the ministry and the Church of the future, we ought to try to teach Church History so that our students will be better able to throw the light of Christianity on the world in which men and women are living. We ought to try to make them wiser to understand and explain, for this is what will be expected of them.

Yet another service of Church History to the ministry let me mention, one not suggested by anything said before. As President McGiffert said some years ago, one thing which the Christian minister's education must do for him is to give him understanding of what Christianity is. His business is with Christianity. It is to expound Christian principles, and lead Christian forces. Therefore, above all, he needs to know what Christianity is and what it can do, what it is not and what it cannot do. For gaining such knowledge, obviously one necessity is instruction in what Christianity has been and has done. In order to grasp the essential truth of the religion, he needs to have traced it in various phases, and observed its development under various forms. In order to have an adequate realization of what Christianity can do in the world to-day, he needs to have studied its achievements in other days. In respect to knowing what Christianity is, Church History makes the difference between a recent acquaintance and an old friend. And teachers of Church History must see that here is another object which they ought to set before them.

I have outlined an aim so broad that almost anybody ought to be able to hit some of it. But I submit that all of the five kinds of possible services of Church History to the ministry which I have mentioned are so important that our teaching ought to be conducted with a view to making these possibilities actual for our students. To give intellectual

training which shall make men better Christian teachers, to give them moral culture enriching personality, to equip them for leadership in church affairs, to enlighten their minds for the interpretation of life, to help them to understand the religion which they are to minister—all these things unquestionably the study of Church History can do. This being so, its teachers must see here objects to be striven for. It is the glory of our subject that its possible uses are so many and so vital. To see them must form our purposes for the teaching which we are highly privileged to give.

We come now to the more difficult matter of method. In connection with this, I take the liberty of offering a few suggestions, with due deference to the larger knowledge and experience of those whom I am addressing. There are two things to be considered, the disposition of the subject-matter, and the teacher's conduct of his work.

For the disposition of the subject-matter there is a time-honored method, widely practised. It is to go through the whole of Church History on the same scale. The whole time allotted to the subject, whether it is much or less, is made to cover the whole subject, and the teacher traverses all the ground at approximately the same rate of speed. Every period of the history gets its quota, as we say nowadays, of what time there is.

It seems to me that if our objects are to be such as I have described, this method is forbidden by our situation in respect to time. These aims, or any of them, require considerable fulness of study and time for reflection. There must be much reading on the period or subject in hand, if these aims are to be attained. The student must reach familiarity with what he is studying and gain some feeling of his own about it. In the time which he spends on Church History, the average student can do such work in only a limited part of the field.

Also the condition of preparation has something to say

here. Many of our students are so ill equipped in general history that they need to make good this deficiency in relation to any part of Church History which they want really to study. This shuts them up to restricted portions of the subject.

Nevertheless the student absolutely needs some sort of view of the whole field. He needs it as an elementary part of his ministerial education, and he needs it to prepare him for fuller study in parts of the field.

I venture to suggest, therefore, that a useful arrangement of the subject-matter would be this. Let there be first an outline of the whole subject. This should be scanty enough, sufficiently an outline, that the student may grasp it, and rapid enough for his gaining a sense of the movement of the history. It should also be guarded against being a mere skeleton of dry bones, and to this end detail and color will have to be introduced with judgment. It is not easy to hit this golden mean, but I think that it can be done, and that it is richly worth doing. I ought to say that I owe the suggestion of this method of introducing the student to the subject by means of an outline, to a very successful teacher of history, Professor Max Farrand of Yale, who went so far as to say that he could not conceive of any other way of entering on the study of Church History. Given this introduction and foundation, the teacher may take up particular periods or subjects, allowing time enough for some attainment of such aims as we have discussed. The accomplishment of these objects bears little relation to the amount of ground covered. It depends on the quality of the study. One small period, rightly studied, will yield more of the possible service of Church History than a great division of the subject regularly marched through at so many pages a day.

The teacher's conduct of his work with his class is so much a matter of individual adaptation that one shrinks

from offering advice to others. All I would do, therefore, is to express a conviction which I have formed as the result of my own experience as a student and as a teacher. It concerns what seems to me the most effective manner of teaching, the manner most likely to accomplish such aims as I have mentioned. This kind of teaching is given, I feel very sure, when the student works up a subject, on the basis as far as possible of the sources, with frequent consultation with the teacher, and then presents his results in finished form for thorough criticism. The teachers who have done most for me are those under whom I have worked in this way. Some of them were good lecturers, but as I look back, their lectures count for far less than what they did in this familiar individual way. And so far as I can judge of my own teaching, the students whom I have taught in this way have made so much more progress than those I have taught in other ways that there seems hardly any comparison. At the risk of talking too much about myself, I will add that I have been confirmed in my opinion by hearing students of former days, some of them now teachers, say they hoped that I would not give up this personal manner of teaching.

It is a method which takes a good deal of time; but it has the advantage that the time spent goes to the real business of teaching. It is very easy for a man who gets up a set of lectures and gives them to a class to deceive himself about the actual effectiveness of this use of time. He arranges his own knowledge and expresses his own opinions. How much he gets across to the students is a question as to which he is much in the dark, and examinations will not greatly enlighten him. But in individual contact with students the teacher has the satisfaction of knowing that he is reaching the vital point, and doing some real teaching.

It is a method which cannot be used by a teacher who has large numbers of students. But in the present situation as to theological students, this objection has not so much

weight. And even when there are more students than are now coming to our institutions, things can be so arranged as to give each one some teaching on this plan.

Furthermore, present conditions are favorable to this kind of teaching in one very important respect, that is in the increasing availability of such source-material as we want to use for it. The last ten years have seen notable improvements in our working-tools in this way, and it is gratifying to know that other collections of sources are coming from the press. It seems as though things were so shaping themselves as to suggest a larger employment of this individual method.

It is a hard method, for the teacher. It calls for more thorough preparation than any other way of handling a subject, for a student in the relations which the method encourages has opportunities to ask more inconvenient questions than are met with in any other kind of teaching. In passing, it may be said that these inconvenient questions witness to the soundness of the method; for they show that the student's real needs are coming out, and give opportunities for real teaching.

But hard as it may be, it is also the most rewarding method of teaching. There is no greater satisfaction than to lead a man to those sources of Church History from which one has drawn so much light and power for one's own life, and see him gaining yet more, for his work in the ministry of the Gospel.

A Definition of Church History

By

Ephraim Emerton

A DEFINITION OF CHURCH HISTORY

By Ephraim Emerton, Ph.D., Emeritus Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Harvard Divinity School, Cambridge, Mass.

(*Presidential Address, read December 27, 1921*)

TO define anything in these days is an unpopular task. To define is to limit, and we are to-day impatient of limits of any kind. The vast expansion of our outlook resulting from a world-shaking political upheaval has reacted upon our social, our economic and our philosophic thought. We respond as seldom before, to every manner of high, generous, broad, liberal suggestions. We repel as unworthy of such spacious days whatever suggests narrowness, commonplaceness, selfishness. We forget easily that breadth may be purchased at a sacrifice of depth, loftiness at the price of a solid footing upon the earth, and generosity by throwing away the things that make us strong for righteous dealing.

The most popular task in the world of education to-day is the building up of high-sounding phrases, the inventing of new words for old things, the creating of endless machinery to take the place of honest work. So that it is with the risk of seeming to deserve that worst of modern epithets, "reactionary," that I venture to take advantage of this occasion to remind you of some fundamental considerations in the presentation of our subject to immature minds.

If we are to offer the subject of Church History as one worthy to take its place by the side of others in a scheme of university instruction, it would seem to be of the first importance that we should give it a scientific definition. By

"scientific" I mean such a definition as will stand the test of continuous application to specific problems as they arise in the course of our study and teaching. I mean a definition that does not rest upon emotional or dogmatic or propagandist bases, but, so far as possible, upon purely historical considerations.

In trying to reach such a definition, we must start with a proposition which I, for one, have always called the cornerstone of all dealing with our subject, and that is: that Church History is nothing more nor less than one chapter in that continuous record of human affairs to which we give the name of history in general. Perhaps this seems to you so simple a truth that it does not need to be stated; but it is precisely these simple truths that are most easily forgotten. From time to time they must be re-stated if they are not to slip gradually and imperceptibly out of our sight. If anyone doubts this, let him read the introductory paragraphs of a dozen different manuals of Church History, Protestant or Catholic, and from these form for himself a composite picture of what kind of definition these authors had in mind.

Unless I am greatly mistaken his general impression will be that at a given moment of time history stood still, and after a pause something like our recent two minutes of silent meditation, moved on again under radically new conditions. The historic movement of human affairs was suspended by a specific intervention of divine Providence and was never quite restored. The new order set going by this intervention had to be maintained by a continuous series of new interventions, and these have occurred at necessary intervals until now, and, by the very nature of the case, must always occur. For, according to this view, the Church and "the world" are not parallel currents in the one great stream of human history, but are essentially hostile and always antagonistic, because the forces behind them are different and irreconcilable.

This spasmodic conception of Church History involves a similar idea of history in general. I quote from one of these manuals by an American author, published in 1893. After referring to human history as a record of conflict between right and wrong he says:—"When the hour came for the wrong to cease, the controlling hand intervened." One may well inquire, without irreverence or irrelevancy, whose hand was managing the universe in the off times. It is not surprising that a person holding this view of the universe should conceive of the function of the church historian in corresponding terms. He says:—"The Church has been saved from fatal error and downfall by divine interposition."

"To show when the divine force has controlled all human events, and made them subserve the steady progress of God's servants is the mission of him who treats the history of the Church."

"The office of the Church is not to untie a tangled skein, but to follow the golden thread of the divine presence in all Christian ages."

This is a delightfully simple description of our profession. If it were true, our occupation would be, not that of the investigator, but that of the certified pilot. Somewhere there is a charted way through what appear to be rocks and shoals, and all we have to do is to know the buoys and light-houses and point them out to less experienced voyagers. According to this view, we should be, not students and interpreters of a great human phenomenon, but expounders of miracle, a sort of high priests in the temple of knowledge. For my part I do not aspire to any such lofty mission. I cannot claim to know "the golden thread of the divine presence" when I see it, and I am sure that if I made any such claim there would be a dozen rival claimants to dispute it, and every one of these would differ from every other in his description of what the golden thread was like.

The web of Church History is a "tangled skein" precisely

as is every other chapter of recorded human experience. It is even worse tangled than many other chapters, precisely because men have been pursuing, each his own "golden thread," and trimming the plain human record to suit his own fancy as to what it might be, and where and when it might be found. The divine presence is not to be thus catalogued and indexed to fit the limitations of us little men. If the modesty of the true historian leads him to disclaim the power to read the divine leading in specific manifestations, he, of all men, should be most sensitive to the thought of a divine governance that rules all times and seasons, the march of nature and the hearts of men.

To describe Church History as an inseparable part of the human record is not to belittle it, but rather to expand and elevate it. It has been a favorite figure to represent the Church as a rock in the midst of the vast, turbulent ocean of the world. Storm and wave have beaten upon it in vain. In spite of all assaults it stands and will stand. The figure is impressive, but it is fatally misleading. If the Church were indeed a rock and the world were something separate from, and hostile to it, then its doom would certainly be sealed. Eventually every rock must give way to the erosive forces of wind and tide. The Church is not a rock, but a living organism,—not standing over against the world but an organic part of it. The human agents who at any time have it in their keeping are subject to the same laws of association that govern all other forms of associated human life. They write their record of human passions, of motives lofty and ignoble, precisely as do the trustees of other great human interests, and this record is passed on to us for decipherment and interpretation.

And so we come to the second of our problems, the question of method, and the solution of that seems to be already indicated in our definition. If it is true that Church History is the record of the experiences of men organized under the

form of the Christian Church, then it must follow that this record shall be studied as any other body of historical material is to be studied. That means that the *whole* record, from the very beginnings in the canon of sacred Scripture to the latest encyclical from Rome, shall be subject to the same laws of historical criticism that apply to all other records. Scripture is sacred, but it is not sacrosanct. It is sacred in our hearts because of what it contains of support and solace in the bitter struggle of life, but it is not exempted from a true criticism. It must take its chances in that whole process of minute examination which is the glory of true historical scholarship.

And the same is true of all the rest of our material. No glamor of antiquity, no weight of tradition, no presumption as to good intention can cover violation of those rules laid down by modern science as the unshakable foundations of historical certainty. I need not remind this audience that this is not the way in which the documents of Christianity have conventionally been handled. Even when the principles of modern historical criticsm have been admitted for other fields of study and extended in theory to Church History as well, they have been shaded off in practice in all kinds of imperceptible ways until the resulting picture has been a hopelessly distorted image of what really happened. A mistaken zeal has tried to defend, apologize, reconcile, compromise, instead of facing boldly obvious contradictions and impossibilities. The method of theology has been applied to history, and the natural result has been loss of confidence, a suspicious distrust of conclusions on the part of those whose good opinion was of the highest value. From Gibbon to Wells—"Ah! What a fall was there, my countrymen!"—the work of Church writers has been discredited because they were believed to be untrustworthy in their methods of work.

No one can profess our subject in close association with

men in other branches of learning without feeling a constant reflection of this distrust. It especially behooves us as the organized representatives of this craft, to set up and to observe standards of procedure no less exacting than those which govern our fellow craftsmen in other departments of historical study. I think we need this warning rather more than they because the temptation to laxity in our case is rather greater. If it is true, as I have come to think it is, that there is no such thing as an unprejudiced historian in the field of political affairs, I am afraid we shall have to admit that in our bailiwick the same judgment must be passed with even greater reason. The sort of conviction with which a man defends the doctrine of state rights, or the sanctity of majorities or the impeccability of monarchs is a pale and ineffectual reflection of the passionate loyalty with which men have died for the right to read the Bible in their homes, or for the sacred principle of apostolic succession, for the sacramental value of certain ceremonies, or for the precious doctrine of an intelligent faith.

The Church historian who should stand wholly outside the influence of some one of the great streams of emotional experience which have determined the current of the Church's life would thereby proclaim himself incapable of meeting the highest demands upon the historian's character. His lack of sympathy with the impelling loyalties of some one group would in so far disqualify him for understanding the motive powers that have actuated other groups. His affectation of impartiality would be better described as an acknowledgment of incompetence.

The ideal Church historian would be a man who, while admitting his obligation to some one form of thought upon the Christian problem, should have studied so deeply into the greater world movement of the race as to have gained that sympathetic understanding of it all which would enable

him to place his own experience in its right relation to all the rest. Such a man would deserve the name of an unprejudiced historian within the limits of human possibility.

I will not repeat here the commonplaces about historical method with which we have been plentifully supplied in the generation just past. We all know all there is to know about the importance of going to the original sources, of analyzing these as to their genuineness, their accuracy, their partisan tendency, and their treatment by contemporaries and by succeeding generations. We hardly need new reminders of the importance of similar diligence and caution in the use of secondary material, the dangers of being blinded by the glamor of great names or captured by the specious brilliancy of some new discovery.

But there is one item in this chapter of method as to which we do need, and I think always shall need, ever fresh admonition. I mean the principles of evidence upon which every historical conclusion must rest. Even after every test of capacity, of knowledge, of accuracy, and of good intention has been applied, there still remains the fatal difficulty that the material of Church History must always contain a certain element which eludes all human capacity, is beyond all human knowledge, cannot be expressed in accurate language, and is independent of human intentions, good or otherwise. What is the sound attitude of the Church historian toward this element of the superhuman? The answer is not quite a simple one. The readiest solution would be to leave it out altogether,—but that is obviously impossible. The reply of the other extreme would be: Accept some definite theory of the divine action upon men, and fit the story of the Church's life to that. Obviously this is precisely what has been done, and as we have already seen, has vitiated the conclusions of our science and tended to degrade it in the opinion of the learned world.

I think some help may be found here by emphasizing one

or two rather nice distinctions. One of these is the distinction between the superhuman and the belief in the superhuman. The superhuman in itself is an abstract conception beyond the reach of human evidence. Belief in the superhuman is a profound fact of human experience testified to by abundant human witness. The superhuman is a proper object for the emotions, of fear, of awe or of reverence, and also for the speculations of metaphysics. It is not a subject for historical record. The *belief* in the superhuman, on the contrary, because it is a fact of human experience, has its historical record and can be studied historically. It has profoundly affected those movements of mankind which everyone would accept as the proper material of history.

If we say that God led the Israelites out of Egypt, we are making, not an historical but a theological statement. It cannot be proved by reference to any record, for no record which we can read unveils the mystery of the divine action. If, however, we say that faith in a divine leading was a powerful motive force in the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt, we are stating a fact demonstrable on every page of a record preserved with extraordinary persistence and, whatever may be its intermixtures of superstition or deception, undoubtedly containing a core of historic truth.

Now I submit that this distinction is of the utmost importance to the Church historian in defining his function both as a student and as a teacher. On the abstract subject of the superhuman or the supernatural he has the same right to an opinion as every other thinking man. In his speculations upon that subject he is acting as a philosopher or a theologian; but when he comes to his work as an historian, the only aspect of it which concerns him is the belief of men and its consequences to them. If he is tempted to say: "At a given moment of time God came to earth as a human being, and this was the origin of the Christian Church,"—he is saying what neither he nor any other human being can

know. He is only stating an article of theological belief. If, on the contrary, he says: "At a given moment of time there appeared on the earth a man whose message so appealed to his hearers and to their followers that they came to believe him to be God himself and that this belief became the most powerful agency in the making of the Christian Church," then he is wholly within his rights as an historian. He is saying what can be proved by a long and unimpeachable human record.

In other words, historical evidence concerns only such things as are perceptible to human powers and can be recorded by human means. Miracles—*all* miracles—are excluded from the historian's function, because no human evidence can establish the fact of miracle. Yet the fact of *belief* in miracle is as obvious a human phenomenon within Christianity as in every other religion. As such the historian is bound to deal with it, never for a moment with the object of proving or disproving the alleged miracle, but only to set the effects of this belief in their right place in the record he is trying to interpret. It is difficult to exaggerate the effect which the observance or the neglect of this principle of evidence may have upon the work of the Church historian.

Having framed a definition of Church History and called attention to certain principles of method, I venture to suggest one other useful procedure. I suppose we have all felt in the course of our work the compelling attraction of what we call, not unfairly, the critical moments in the life of the Church. These give us the high lights in the picture we try to draw for ourselves and others. These critical points are most often periods of reform. The purity of the Christian ideal has constantly been dimmed by practical complications and has been restored only after prolonged and costly processes of reform. Christianity itself was the reform of a society that had outlived the vitality of its original motive forces.

Now, the temptation of the Church historian in dealing with these moments of reform is to pick out the elements of contrast and set them over against each other in as high relief as possible. He throws the light upon the new and leaves the old in shadow. The new is all brightness, the old is chiefly darkness. The reason for such a method is clear. It is easy, and it appeals strongly to the dramatic sense. The remedy is, I think, to be found in a canon of historic truth not too frequently emphasized, and that is that no idea can make its way among men except as it finds responsive elements in the society to which it appeals. Let me illustrate.

The manuals to which I have referred are wont to present the origin of Christianity by way of violent contrast. The world was sunk in superstition and sin. Christianity came as a revelation of pure religion and sound morality. The two were essentially antagonistic. It was hardly necessary to inquire into the actual conditions of the Roman society except to find new illustrations of the fundamental contrast and, of course, there were abundant illustrations ready to hand. It was left to scholars in other fields to show by wide and laborious investigation that the thesis itself was false. They showed us that the world into which Christianity came was not sunk in either superstition or sin. It was teeming with efforts after spiritual religion. Everywhere men were "feeling after God, if haply they might find him." The formalisms of the ancient faiths were everywhere broken through. Out of Egypt had come the personal cults of Isis and Serapis,—out of Persia the singularly appealing worship of Mithra,—within the body of the Greek tradition had grown the esoteric rites of the Mysteries and the profound speculations of philosophy. The age of Justin Martyr was the age also of Marcus Aurelius. With whatever perversions and degradations, these appeals to the individual and the universal were welcomed by multitudes of eager spirits.

When Ernest Renan said that in the third century it was about an even chance whether the world was to become Christian or Mithraitic, he was probably not far wrong, as a glance at the map of Mithraitic remains can convince any open mind.

It was a mistaken loyalty that led Church historians to neglect or to despise all this spiritual background, and to treat Christianity as if it had been the sole agency in turning men from formalism and legalism into the freer air of individual, personal experience. The truly educative way of approach is to think of Christianity as one among a group of rival claimants for the allegiance of an eagerly expectant world. Its real glory is that it knew how to meet all these struggling impulses and fuse them into one united resistance to the common enemy. The problem of the Church historian is to learn the secret of this power,—to untangle the skein, so that the theologian and the philosopher may see the golden thread of the divine presence working through all the confusions and perplexities of an aged world in labor with the new.

We find another illustration of this principle when we come to study the most engaging and at the same time the most perplexing personality in the mediæval Church, the monk and prelate Hildebrand. The conventional treatment represents the conflict of the eleventh century as a war between a masterful churchman armed with spiritual weapons and a hot-headed youth impatient of restraint and backed by all the forces of revolt against papal control. A very simple scheme, easily sketched and easy to follow. The fault in it is that it overlooks the long and subtle processes by which, for more than a century, the Christian consciousness of Europe had been prepared to receive the message of the reforming pope. If one begins the study of Hildebrand with the year 1073, one sees him only as the agent of papal absolutism. The problem seems to be one of political domination. Was

Church or state to dominate the fortunes of the European peoples? It is a dramatic story filled with episodes of absorbing interest. The tide of battle sways to and fro until all sense of difference between the contending parties is obscured. Each seems to be staking its all on the one issue of power. But what is it that finally decides the conflict? It is the response in the hearts of thinking men to the call of a great leader for purity and freedom in the life of the Church. This demand had been matured by the ceaseless activity of that element in the Church which in the popular imagination stood for those two things, for purity and freedom. The monastic movement, typified in the wide-spread Congregation of Cluny, led the way, and the secular clergy, if they were not to be hopelessly outclassed, must follow their lead.

The three articles of the Hildebrandine program were all anticipated in the monastic practice. Celibacy was felt to be the higher form of life, not merely because it meant a life of renunciation; it stood for liberty, because it set men free from those social ties which were believed to hamper the fullest expression of religious service. Simony, the commercializing of the religious profession, had been shamed into secrecy by the monastic vow of poverty. The priest who had bought his office was as much an object of popular contempt as the monk who failed to surrender his earthly goods for the glory of God. The lay investiture of bishops had its counterpart in the open scandal of the lay abbacies against which the Cluny reformers had thundered with increasing effect. Here is to be found the key to the Hilderbrandine problem. What appears at first as the victory of a priesthood mad with the lust of power, is seen to be, on its spiritual side, the triumph of an ideal working its way out into institutions. That these institutions again in their turn became corrupted by human limitations cannot blind us to their historic value in molding the still half-

barbaric society of the Middle Ages into its peculiar civilization.

And, once more, the story of the Protestant Reformation is incomplete and unintelligible unless we approach it from the side of those subtle movements of thought and feeling which had been preparing the northern peoples tor the trumpet-call of Luther. I am as far as anyone can be from wishing to add one note to the chorus of belittlement that in recent years has been buzzing about the name and fame of that wonderful man. I am only reminding you that the very rapidity and completeness of his success were possible only because throughout the North men's minds had been turning for a hundred years more and more toward a spiritual, and away from a technically sacramental view of religious experience. Explanations of the Reformation from the economic, the political and the humanistic points of view we have had galore. Good work has been done in tracing the history of the spiritual Reformers. What I am urging is that in our work as teachers we should keep before the minds of our hearers this element of response as the determining factor in the success of the Great Reform.

When one considers that it was only nine years after the Ninety-five Theses when the Protestant principle of the right to differ, the most pregnant declaration of the modern world, was proclaimed at the first Diet of Speier, one feels how decisive the attitude of the thinking people of the North must have been. I like to think of Luther, not as the originator of the reforming impulse but as its mouthpiece. He was as much surprised as anyone at the instant response to his challenge of 1517. It was to him a revelation of what other men were thinking and feeling. He did not know that he was the spiritual brother of John Huss until it flashed upon him at the Leipzig disputation of 1519. Henceforth it was his problem to guide and co-ordinate and restrain forces

that were ready to burst forth into action, but had lacked precisely this unifying leadership.

These, then, are the suggestions I should like to leave with you, my colleagues, as a small contribution to our common work:

First, to define our subject with such precision that it may take and hold its place in honor among our brethren of the historian's craft.

Second, to bring to bear upon both our study and our teaching those principles of method and especially those rules of evidence which have become established in every other branch of historical research.

Third, at every great crisis in the history of the Church, to give due weight to those conditions of receptivity in the community at large by which the success of the new idea has been determined.

It is only by fidelity to these guiding principles that the deepest spiritual realities, of which the Church is the guardian, can be set in their true light before our modern world.

Early Moravian Settlements in America

By

William Nathaniel Schwarze

EARLY MORAVIAN SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA

By William Nathaniel Schwarze, Ph.D., Professor of Homiletics in the Moravian College and Theological Seminary, Bethlehem, Pa., and Archivist of the Moravian Church.

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IN Pennsylvania, foremost of the primitive commonwealths of the United States in presenting conditions favorable to many kinds of undertakings, Moravians effected their first permanent settlements in America. William Penn had contemplated as his "holy experiment" a Quaker colony within which all religions should be tolerated. The scheme of peace with freedom, however, very soon produced a condition of turmoil. At the outset, co-religionists of the founder came to Pennsylvania in such numbers as to give them preponderance in the affairs of the colony. Then, in response to the generous offers of Penn, that Teutonic immigration began which threatened, at one time, to make Penn's colony alien from his countrymen. These emigrants to the colony did not come from those parts of Europe where the Christians were all of one way of worshipping. They were persecuted refugees of all sorts. For the most part, they held the idea that religious liberty was the greatest boon to be sought. But they were not capable of using it peaceably. Accustomed to look upon all authority in state or church as tyranny, they fell readily under the influence of agitators and adventurers who could not be kept out of the Province and whose presence caused Pennsylvania to be somewhat intemperately called "the greatest refuge for pirates and rogues in Ameri-

ca." Confusion and strife resulted and prevailed most conspicuously in the domain of religion.

At the most uncertain stage, when those who had no faith in the Pennsylvania plan called the Province bedlam and predicted the triumph of anarchy, the Moravians appeared to seek a place in this region of opportunities and to undertake their part in helping to work out the problem of its future. They came with a definite purpose, which was in accord with the aspirations of the best people of the colony. Persons of several nationalities were among these Moravians, but no colonists in the country were more closely bound together. Their organization was comparatively new, but they had behind them a history, recalled by the name they bore, which reached back to a time before America was discovered. Their spiritual forefathers had been members of the *Unitas Fratrum*, or Moravian Church, founded by followers of John Hus, in 1457. The importance to which that Church had risen is difficult to realize. It had greatly developed ecclesiastical resources in directions evangelistic, educational and literary. It is overshadowed, however, in the retrospect, by the magnitude of movements in Germany and elsewhere in the sixteenth century. Concepts had entered into its system that gave it affinity to the widely divergent Protestant types of that century. It had anticipated Luther in emphasizing the priesthood of individual believers, Zwingli in maintaining congregational rights over against hierarchy, Calvin in restoring eldership in church government, and the Church of England in not discarding the historic episcopate. Moreover, its members could not participate in the Protestant developments after the issues of the Thirty Years' War were settled, because in the course of that long and terrible tragedy their church organization was crushed. Only the scriptural "remnant" was left. No banner in that or succeeding conflicts was more pierced and rent than was their historic banner with the legend and

device "*Vicit Agnus Noster, Eum Sequamur.*" Now, their descendants with others who had made common cause with them came bearing this banner into the New World, to proclaim true liberty with brotherhood under the dominion of the conquering Lamb. Their position was not always understood. Men differed in their estimate of them. Both good report and evil report had preceded them across the ocean. Moravians soon came to be the most highly praised and the most bitterly denounced people in Pennsylvania.

They came a firmly and compactly organized body. Their organization had been carefully elaborated. Descendants of members of the ancient *Unitas Fratrum*, having cherished in secret the traditions of the fathers in Bohemia and Moravia, had, in 1722, found an asylum on the estates of Count Zinzendorf, in Saxony. To their settlement at Herrnhut earnest people from other places and of other denominational connections had been attracted. These varied elements had, at first, produced a ferment of disagreement on doctrinal points. While Zinzendorf was dealing with the problem which their situation presented—in the event succeeding in bringing about unity of spirit—the scheme began to take form in his mind, of accommodating the several confessional affiliations and church cults under a plan that would permit individuals to hold to differing traditions, while all constituted one household of brethren bound by those articles of doctrine, constitution, discipline, and ritual that were central and commonly accepted. This scheme Zinzendorf sought to develop in various ways, throughout his life-time, under the form of a "church within the church" or of "the Congregation of God in the Spirit" or of "*Tropi Pœdias.*" He repeatedly expounded his views in brilliant and rather mystifying speeches. If these are sometimes puzzling to the historian, this need dishearten no one. Some of his most intelligent followers never fully understood them. At bottom, the Count's idea was clear.

He would have the Moravians serve as a bond of union between evangelical Christians of all denominations, on the basis of personal experience—experience of sin, of redeeming grace, of the religious value of the Bible. For the fellowship of true believers Luther had sighed in vain, and to this object Zinzendorf would dedicate his life. With this purpose of Zinzendorf the Moravians of Herrnhut merged their plans. Yet they never surrendered the aim of ultimately rebuilding the Church of the fathers. Whenever more or less free from the dominating influence of Zinzendorf, they yielded quite readily to the force of conditions that encouraged distinctly denominational activity.

This explains some inconsistencies of aim in early Moravian undertakings, both in Europe and in America. This explains, in part, why Moravians were often misunderstood in that age which prided itself on its "enlightenment," and which was contemptuous, as Gœthe pointed out, of anything original. For this they were condemned as dangerously latitudinarian. This assists, also, to an understanding of some characteristics of the modern Moravian Church, in its doctrinal position, its polity, its discipline and ritual, and its attitude toward other religious bodies.

On one point Zinzendorf and the Moravian settlers of Herrnhut were in complete accord. From the days of his boyhood, under influences emanating from the Halle of Francke and Spener, Zinzendorf had cherished the thought of undertaking missionary work among the heathen. With his increasing regard for the zeal and fearlessness of the Moravians as evangelists, his missionary plans ripened. To these the Moravians brought whole-hearted response, for in their bosoms glowed the witness spirit—*der Zeugengeist*—of the bold confessors and martyrs of the ancient *Unitas Fratrum*. With a view, therefore, to home missionary and foreign missionary enterprise, the Herrnhut settlers subjected themselves to the strict and detailed regulations of

thorough organization. And this organization gave support, powerful as it was united, to their undertakings.

Several considerations led them to look hopefully toward settlements in America. Pennsylvania, with its broad and liberal charter, was the particular region they had in mind. They saw in imagination the hordes of Indians roaming through its forests and the multitudes of European home-seekers, of Teutonic extraction, for the most part, persecuted religionists without preacher or teacher, settling in the land of Penn. Opportunities for the work of the missionary, the evangelist, the teacher rose before the vision of the people of Herrnhut. Moreover, signs of deepening hostility in the Old World forced the Moravians to seek asylum in the New. By reason of Protestant intolerance and Catholic intolerance, trouble was brewing about Herrnhut. If the storm should burst, the people of Herrnhut might be in need of a new home. They took time by the forelock.

In the founding of their settlements in America, the Moravians proposed to work according to a definite plan. The plan had three main features. For one thing, instead of trying to extend the Moravian Church at the expense of other denominations, they intended to promote true Christian faith and practice in all denominations. Sectarian strife had then, in the New World as well as in the Old, become such a demon of discord that the Moravians made up their minds to be thoroughly unsectarian. Again, in their settlements they proposed to combine sacred and secular activities, for the time being. They did not, indeed, believe in communistic organization. They called their system an "Economy." By establishing it temporarily, they hoped to sanctify all their labor and to find, poor men though they were, the means for rapid spread of the Gospel. Finally, they proposed to preach that Gospel to all men, civilized and savage, who had not heard it before and, by means of their school work, to banish ignorance, the fruitful mother of

vice and misery. With these ideas in mind, the beginnings of Moravian work in North America can be rightly understood.

In the event, circumstances, that need not be detailed here, led the Moravians first to Georgia. August Gottlieb Spangenberg, later a bishop of the Church, was their leader. The settlement did not attain to permanence; partly, because the war between England and Spain interfered with the missionary operations projected, and the Moravians, at that time, refused to bear arms; partly, because some of the men sent out were not of that robust, practical, unselfish type best fitted to found and maintain a colony. During the short time of its existence, it furnished the occasion for the first contact of John and Charles Wesley with the Moravians, a meeting so momentous in its results. As a mission center and permanent settlement, the Moravian enterprise in Georgia was a failure. As a training school for the Moravians it was a success. They had learned how best to build up a new settlement in a new land. They had found out what colonists could do to support themselves and the missionaries they sent forth.

In the meantime, Spangenberg had gone to Pennsylvania, commissioned to look into the spiritual condition of the German population and to gather information about the Indians. At that time, there were about 100,000 Germans in the colony. They had done much to fill up the empty regions east of the Susquehanna, and their industry had contributed, in great measure, to the flourishing condition of the Province. Their religious condition was deplorable. Many had, indeed, in the Old World been reared in the Lutheran or the Reformed faith. Here they were as sheep without a shepherd. Concerning the former, Muhlenberg said, among other things, in 1743, "The spiritual state of our poor Lutheran people is so wretched that even with tears of blood it could not be bewailed enough." And there were not

half enough German Reformed ministers in the Province to supply the most immediate wants. Many of the Germans were of the unauthorized or scarcely tolerated sects. There were Baptists, Mennonites, Separatists, Sabbatarians, Unitarians, Independents, Inspired Prophets, Hermits, New Born Ones, Dunkers, and more. And there were many who had given up what they had had of faith or of forms of religion. It is probably true, as one historian puts it, that "thousands, . . . scattered about in the forest wilds of Pennsylvania, never saw a church nor cared for it." The land was filled with "religions" and empty of religion. It had become a by-word that a man professed the "Pennsylvania religion" when he was utterly indifferent to the spiritual life. On the other hand, there were many who had come for conscience's sake, who prayed for the dawn of the spiritual day for these benighted regions. And there were pious men and women, not a few, who, neither driven by the desire to better themselves in this world nor expelled from home for religious beliefs, had come yearning for a wilderness, or from missionary zeal, or at the impulse of both feelings combined.

Spangenberg reported to the authorities of the Church that "the Gospel must be preached to the many thousands who know nothing of it," that, "it may be that the hour of grace has sounded" for the Indians, and that "in the whole country there are few schools and there is almost no one who makes the youth his concern." Small wonder that he also wrote, "If Brethren," *i.e.* Moravians, "are to come to Pennsylvania, the most firmly rooted, staid, practical and every way useful men ought to be selected, for there are people in the country who have considerable spiritual experience and can discern the spirits."

The Moravians founded their first settlement in Pennsylvania on a five hundred acre tract of land in the region called the Forks of the Delaware, in 1741, naming it Bethlehem; a second one, Nazareth, in 1742, on a five-thousand-

acre tract, ten miles north of the first; a third, Lititz, in 1756, on a five-hundred acre tract, near Lancaster; and in North Carolina they founded several settlements on a tract of one hundred thousand acres, in 1753, and the following years. In the first two named, Bethlehem and Nazareth, a co-operative union was maintained, called an "Economy," for the twenty year period, 1742–62; at the other settlements a similar arrangement for a shorter period of time. All labored for a common cause and received sustenance from a common stock, but there was no surrender of private property and no obligation prevented the individual from withdrawing when he chose. Numerous Moravian colonists came to America, during the two decades, on vessels owned and managed by the Church. Under the arrangements made, results were accomplished which would not otherwise have been possible. The material benefits of the settlements were appreciated by the authorities of Pennsylvania, and the spiritual activities prosecuted by the Moravians, although misunderstood and opposed by some, were epoch-making in the religious growth of the country.

At the beginning of this twenty year period, an interesting effort engaged the attention of the Moravians. Its inevitable failure helped to make clear what forms Moravian enterprise should take in the colonies of those days. Zinzendorf had joined the colonists. Almost immediately he had come in contact with a small group of earnest men who called themselves the "Associated Brethren of the Skippack," an undenominational body that sought mutual edification and the promotion of better understanding between contending denominations and sects. They induced Zinzendorf to attempt a combination or harmonization of the various bodies, or, at least, the chief sects among the German settlers. The plan appealed to Zinzendorf. Here there was no state church; hence they could not be accused of causing a schism. Here there was religious liberty; therefore they

could work out their ideas without fear of being checked by edicts. The first call to a general conference, sent out by Henry Antes gave this statement of objective, "to treat peaceably concerning the most important articles of faith, and to ascertain how far they might all agree in the most essential points, for the purpose of promoting mutual love and forbearance." The objective does not appear to have been entirely clear. Some may have had in mind organic union, others merely a federation of denominations, so as to avoid directing religious inquirers twelve ways. Zinzendorf conceived the scheme of a "Congregation of God in the Spirit." At first the outlook was hopeful. A number of conferences, called "Pennsylvania Synods" were held. Every German denomination was represented at the first session. Not one of these denominations was as yet fully organized for itself. The plan was exalted in its purpose. Zinzendorf gave to it his wonderful energy without stint. It soon appeared, however, that the plan was far ahead of the time. The synods were more and more dominated by Moravian thought and, as representatives of other bodies dropped out, they lost, eventually, their interdenominational character. The stern facts of the case were against Zinzendorf. The effort widened rather than healed the breach between religionists. Failure of the plan, as well as the conditions then prevailing, showed the Moravians how they might shape their course anew.

At about this juncture, Zinzendorf left the Moravian settlements in America for Europe. For Moravian work in the colonies it was, in all likelihood, fortunate that he did so and that the administration of Moravian enterprise here was handed on to Spangenberg. Zinzendorf was a man of extraordinary ability, a genius, moved by signal devotion to Christ and indefatigable in labors. He served his own and succeeding generations by recalling Christendom to a sense of its obligation to carry out the last command of our Lord.

And he lived long enough to know that thousands of heathen had been converted through his agency. But he was limited in good judgment, was inclined to be arbitrary, lacked ballast, and had the unfortunate faculty of arousing antagonism to himself and his plans. He said of himself, "I have a genius for extravagance." He had. At one time he and other Moravians lost themselves in the extravagances of what Moravian historians have called the "period of sifting," an experience from which there was prompt and penitent recovery. Spangenberg was inferior in genius but greater in good judgment and Zinzendorf's equal in loyalty and devotion to Christ. He was a man of remarkable strength and beauty of character. He was grave and modest. He was a scholar and a theologian. He was as practical as he was learned. He was a man of tact and shrewd foresight, with the power of winning confidence. Well did he earn the surname "Brother Joseph," supporter of his brethren in a strange land. An incident illustrates the difference between the two men. On the island of St. Croix, in the West Indies, a band of Moravian missionaries had, some years before, died of fever. Zinzendorf immortalized their exploits in a hymn. The practical Spangenberg calmly considered how such heroic tragedies might, in future, be prevented.

Under the guidance of Spangenberg, the Moravians worked out the plan they called an "Economy" in Bethlehem and Nazareth, as centers of evangelistic, educational and missionary activity. These settlements were thoroughly organized. For twenty years, with the resources they developed on the land tracts which they controlled, they bore the financial burden of the widely spread Moravian work in America. In the administration and development of their affairs Spangenberg accomplished the "masterpiece" of his life. The members of these settlements he divided in two groups; one, the "*Pilgergemeine*," Pilgrim Congregation, to go abroad as evangelists, teachers and missionaries, the

other, "*Hausgemeine*," home, or local, congregation, to work in the settlements, earning the means for their own support and that of those whom they sent out. It was a communism of time and labor, not of goods. It was not binding upon the settlers. It was understood to be a temporary measure. For a motto they took the words, "*In commune oramus, in commune laboramus, in commune patimur in commune gaudeamus.*"

For the task before the Moravians, Spangenberg and his associates had, as capital to start with, two uncultivated tracts of land, several roomy dwelling houses, their fertile genius, and a small, consecrated body of men and women willing to work. The results were amazing. By 1747, in addition to working several farms, thirty-two different industries were in operation at Bethlehem, conducted under responsible committees for the benefit of the church organization. No town in interior Pennsylvania could so well satisfy all kinds of wants. When, in 1753, the first general store of the community was about to be opened and the stocking of it was discussed at a meeting of masters of trades, it was found that over a hundred distinct items to be offered as commodities for sale could be produced by the industries then in operation at Bethlehem. Yet at no time during the twenty year period did the population of the town number more than six hundred. For most of the time, it was considerably less. Among Moravian settlers in America of that first generation there were no deadheads. While in force, 1742–62, this "Economy" system defrayed the expenses of all Moravian activity in America. At one time it supported about fifty itinerant preachers, teachers, and missionaries.

Spiritual life in the community was diligently cultivated. Regular, though brief, periods of daily devotion emphasized the idea of complete consecration. Lofty ideals sustained a high spiritual tone. Nor was the daily life one of grim drudgery unrelieved by anything bright or softening.

Occasions of unusual interest in the development of the work were made seasons of festal celebration and rejoicing. Love-feasts, after the manner of the *agapæ* of the early Christian Church, added to the solemn services of fellowship an element of social cheer. Particular attention was paid to music. Vocal and instrumental performances of a high order contributed to the edifying beauty of many a service as well as to the general refinement that ruled in the settlement. In short, all the features of the "Economy" experiences combined to make that twenty years noteworthy. Rarely, if ever, in the history of Protestant Christianity, were the sacred and the secular more happily wedded.

Of all this activity there are extensive, detailed and accurate records. It might require long search to find another town where the people on the first day of the settlement began to write their history. Equally detailed and accurate, and even more interesting for the variety of material they include, are the diaries, letters and journals recording the activities of evangelists, teachers, and missionaries, and describing the conditions amid which they labored.

From the start, evangelistic work among the settlers of the American colonies was prosecuted with vigor. Members of the Pilgrim Congregation were divided into different classes, besides those who served as missionaries and teachers. One group served as a kind of "look-out committee," traversing different neighborhoods to seek places in need of attention, note open doors and get into personal touch with the people. Another corps made periodical tours together, visiting from house to house in circuits. When places opened for more localized work, permanently or for protracted seasons, two further classes were organized among those who were ordained ministers, or, at least, were best qualified for public speaking. Those of the one class, "traveling preachers," *Landprediger*, had an assigned circuit,

those of the other, "stationed preachers," *die auf Posten*, settled at one or another place, concentrating their efforts.

All these evangelists sought out the neglected communities. They did not meddle with the work of other servants of God. They abstained from disputes. Their message was Christocentric. Their zeal drove them into seven of the original thirteen colonies. They went as far north as Maine, and southward they penetrated to Virginia, Carolina and Georgia. They preached in many localities where the Gospel had never been heard. Extraordinary success attended their work. Through their agency, the "Great Awakening," of 1740–42, under the agency of Whitefield, Tennent, and others, had its counterpart among the German settlers, though the outward signs of intense conviction may not have been so startling. Letters, diaries and journals of those days show that a mighty desire for the Word of God was aroused. Neglected people felt the thrill of a strong religious life. The aim was not to advance the interests of the Moravian Church. The purpose was, rather, to further vital Christian living. Conditions forced the Moravians to give up, in large measure, their ideal of undenominational work. By 1748, congregations were organized in more than thirty localities, mostly in Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and Maryland. Had these evangelists sought the expansion of their Church, the Moravian Church might have become a powerful denomination in America.

Noteworthy, too, was their educational work. This they were led to undertake at the impulse of their principles and in response to urgent needs. To their way of thinking, development of sterling character, growth in grace and in the knowledge of the truth were impossible without an instructed, intelligent mind. Moreover, the Moravians were the conservators of the principles of Comenius, one of their bishops and a renowned educator, who was a pioneer

in advocating the equal education of the sexes, the system of object teaching, the necessity of physical training, and the importance of aiming to develop the whole human being.

Informed of such principles and ideals, they found the educational needs of the Pennsylvania colony to be very great. It was the day of beginnings. The whole region was sparsely settled by whites. In most parts of it they were battling with the wilderness. In few localities was there anything deserving the name of school. And the situation was little or no better in the neighboring colonies.

Naturally, therefore, the Moravians made much of educational effort in their plans. Their zeal for training the young blossomed out in schools of various kinds, particularly in Pennsylvania. Many of their schools came to an end when Braddock's defeat opened the flood gates and a turbulent stream of savagery poured into the back country, beyond the Blue Mountains. Nevertheless, educational enterprise continued an important feature of Moravian activity in America.

Notable, too, were their schools among the Indians. Wherever they obtained a foothold among the aborigines, with a prospect of doing good, they built a schoolhouse and opened a school. Wickersham in his classic, *History of Education in Pennsylvania*, pays the Moravian mission schools this tribute: "Even Carlisle and Hampton, with all their merit, have less to recommend them as schools for the Indians than had the old Moravian towns of Gnadenhuetten, Friedenshuetten and Friedensstadt."

In all these schools educational accessories were, indeed, limited, but the qualities of character and spirit of the teachers were fine. Efforts in behalf of their charges were to refine, to enlarge sympathies, to fit for good citizenship, to render more easy the attainment of the birthright of the child of God. The teachers taught their pupils to know facts and grasp principles, and they disciplined their minds to use

the knowledge. They threw a religious influence around the pupils that was fitted to strengthen the will, warm the heart, clarify conscience, purify motives, furnish self-mastery and to seat hope upon life's throne.

Little did these pioneers of one hundred eighty years ago, with all their faith, comprehend the abundant harvest of all these years enfolded in the seeds they cast into the soil of the wilderness. When in their log-cabins they introduced children to the fundamentals of knowledge or led young men and women of rustic habit forward into the beauties of classical literature and the practical demonstrations of science, a cloud covered from their vision the development which, in five generations, should not only contribute much to fill the region of their self-denial with the fruits of culture, but from that very region, too, send forth the abundant offerings of learning, science and refinement, in hallowed union with religion, across the continent and to the ends of the earth.

Missionary work among the Indians is one of the brightest parts of the story of the early, as it is of the later, Moravian activity in America. Down to the arrival of the Moravians, practically nothing had been achieved within the bounds of Pennsylvania in the way of converting the Indians to Christianity. In early times, the Jesuits or other Roman Catholic priests of Canada had baptized several of the Conestogas. Some Quakers had preached to the savages, apparently, without their being in the least moved. The efforts of the Church of England in this direction had been confined to New York. David Brainerd entered the field, within a few years after the Moravian missionaries had begun, preaching at an Indian village below the Water Gap as early as 1744. The story of Moravian activity among the Indians is a stirring record of fearless testimony, of self-sacrificing service. It counts its heroes and martyrs, not a few. It met with heart-breaking disappointments and led to immortal

achievements. After the ill-fated Georgia efforts, the first step was taken by Christian Henry Rauch. He began a successful work among the Mohicans and Wampanoags of New York, establishing a permanent mission in the Indian town of Shekomeko. Upon this first success, the Moravians undertook to preach the Gospel to all the Indians they could reach. Count Zinzendorf set off to spy out the land, in three hazardous missionary journeys. From powerful chiefs he obtained permission for the Moravians to pass to and from, and remain within, the Indian domains.

Immediately, the campaign began in earnest. Of all the missionaries the Moravians sent forth, then and in the years to follow, David Zeisberger was the great hero of this work. He rounded out, in the eighty-seventh year of his age, sixty-three years of unwearied labor among the Indians. In length of service, this missionary career has, perhaps not been surpassed by any missionary of any church among any people. He learned to know the Indians, if ever man did. In his writings, he attributes to them few good qualities, he denounces their blood-thirstiness, cowardice, lewdness and treachery. Yet he loved them. He followed them in their wanderings When cruel war drove them from place to place, or when the encroaching tide of white settlements bade them "move on," he led them like a Moses.

Naturally, he won successes, in spite of everything. He gained completely the confidence of the savages. He was known as the "Friend of the Indians." At one time he was keeper of the archives of the Iroquois confederacy. For years he swayed the council of the Delawares. He reduced their language to writing and gave them hymns, liturgies, and portions of Scripture. As a true apostle to the Indians, he exerted his great influence to move the Indians heaven-ward. He was, above all, a soul-winner. He trained his charges carefully to holy living. He succeeded in raising up native helpers who preached with boldness. Renowned

warriors and orators, like Glikkikan, became spiritual leaders of their brethren. Among the most illustrious features of his work were the Christian Indian communities he established. They flashed like gems in the darkness. In place of scattered wigwams, there were regular streets of cabins. Instead of filth there was neatness. Instead of noisy revelry, there was the voice of children at school, the voice of morning and evening prayer. Most noted of these settlements came to be those in the Ohio region. For ten years, their fame rang throughout the wide territory of the west. From every part of it hundreds of natives streamed to Schœnbrunn, Gnadenhuetten, Salem and Lichtenau to hear the Gospel.

It is significant that among the Indians, as elsewhere, Moravian missionaries labored in accordance with definite instructions. Their first missionaries had, it is true, been compelled to go out with very vague ideas of their duties. But in 1734, Moravian authorities published *Instructions for the Colony in Georgia;* in 1737, *Instructions for the Missionaries to the East;* in 1738, *Instructions for All Missionaries*, and in 1740, *The Right Way to Convert the Heathen.* In, compliance with these instructions, they stressed, first of all, the person and sacrifice of Christ. They used the language not of the theological world but of the Gospels. They preached, not a theory of the atonement, but the story of the Cross. The following quotation from the *Instructions*, as printed in 1784, will emphasize the point:

> When the Brethren shall have learned the language sufficiently to be understood, their testimony is to begin with Jesus Christ, describing him as that great Lord who has all power in heaven and on earth, yea, as the Almighty God, who made all things, and man in particular. They set forth his love to man, to be so inexpressibly great, that he became himself a man for our sake, to deliver us from all evil, and to make us happy here and hereafter. They testify to them, at the same time, that he, out

of love to man, endured even the most cruel death, and shed his blood, that we might obtain eternal life. They extol him as the most kind, most benign and gracious Saviour, whose heart's delight is, to do good unto men. This done, the missionaries are instructed then to tell the heathen concerning the Father and the Holy Ghost and that whatever further appertains to the foundation of evangelical doctrine, is altogether derived out of the person of Jesus Christ.

It should be added, in this connection, that the Moravians in America formed, also, a society for the propagation of the Gospel by home and foreign missions, in 1745, an organization that was resuscitated, in 1787, under the name and form of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen." Through the agency of this organization, the first American-born missionaries were sent into the foreign field.

In 1762, the "Economy" was abolished. Individual members bought or leased from the Church most of the land and the stock and fixtures of the various manufactories and trades and began to do business on their own account. Conditions had changed. Other denominations had assumed organic form in Pennsylvania. The Moravians were forced to shape the course of their activity anew. As they had gained a foothold in seven of the original thirteen colonies, the logic of events led them to enter upon the natural denominational effort of church extension. Through the forms of activity of their early settlements much of what was good in Moravian thought and practice was communicated to other denominations, was by them assimilated and has among them come to more manifold, complete and powerful expression.

Church Councils of the Anglo-Saxons

By

Joseph Cullen Ayer

CHURCH COUNCILS OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS

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CHURCH councils have played a great rôle in ecclesiastical history. Whether their actual influence has been as great upon the development of the Church is a question open to discussion. Nevertheless Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon will always stand as landmarks in the development of theology and the constitution of the Church. Apart from these great gatherings, held only on special occasions and at irregular and long intervals, there were other church councils which formed, in design at least, a permanent and important part of ecclesiastical governmental machinery. These were the provincial and diocesan synods or councils, held respectively by the archbishop for his province and the bishop for his diocese. In them much of the orderly administration of a well-governed diocese took place.

In his annual or semi-annual diocesan synod the bishop gave directions to his clergy for the conduct of their cures, published the decrees of other ecclesiastical authorities.[1] and administered discipline in the case of both lay and clerical offenders. Regino of Prum, in his work *De synodalibus*

[1] *Cf.* Loening, *Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenrechts*, 1878, ii, pp. 361 ff.

causis,[1] gives a good idea of what these diocesan synods did about the year 900.[2]

In the provincial synod there was much the same sort of work. It was composed of the suffragans of the province. They alone voted, but they might be represented by priests and even deacons. Others of the lower clergy might be present for in one capacity or another they often accompanied their diocesan. To these gatherings might come appeals from the diocesan synods, and as representative of a province, and so of several dioceses, they had more occasion to issue general directions in the forms of canons. But the enactment of canons was a secondary matter, and unfortunately only those synods that did pass such had much chance of being recorded.

In the extension of Christianity to the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of Great Britain this synodical organization was naturally introduced. It was merely the organized administrative system, as it had been developed on the Continent centuries before the conversion of England. In the following discussion there will be no attempt to discuss the diocesan synod, if for no other reason, because there is no clear record of any such synod in early England. They were undoubtedly held with reasonable frequency. Without them no bishop could have administered his diocese. On the Continent, even when provincial synods almost disappeared, the diocesan synod was very generally maintained with some approach to regularity.[3] The provincial synod, however, is of more than local importance, and introduces questions

[1] Migne, *Patrologia Series Latina*, Vol. 132.

[2] Occasionally we have decisions of what appear to be lawsuits of a secular character. Hinschius (*Kirchenrecht*, iii, p. 587, nn. 1, 2.) gives long lists of such. In the case of England there is the greatest difficulty in determining the nature of the gathering, whether it is a church council or a witenagemot, even when the texts speak of a sacred synod. See below. For English use, see can. 3, 20, Clovesho 747; can. 3, Chelsea 787.

[3] Hauck, *Kichengeschichte Deutschlands*, 1912, ii, p. 244 f.

as to the relation of the Church to the whole people of the Anglo-Saxons. The diocese was for a long time coterminous with a political division of the Anglo-Saxons. Among them the province included several dioceses. This scheme of provincial organization with provincial synods was clearly in the mind of Gregory the Great in his scheme for the provincial and diocesan organization of England or possibly of Great Britain; for the pontiff's manifest ignorance of actual conditions in the island leaves us in equal ignorance of the scope of his plan. Yet there is no synod in England before the time of Theodore of Canterbury, seventy years after the advent of Augustine, which can lay claim to being in any sense provincial, or even interdiocesan. The alleged synods of London, dated in the first decade of the seventh century[1] and supposed to be referred to by Boniface of Mainz,[2] are due to a misunderstanding of the phrase *Lundunensis synodus*, which, according to the context, can only mean the Southern Province.[3] It is a possible echo of the scheme of Gregory the Great for ecclesiastical organization of his favorite missionary work. The gathering at Whitby in 664, the so-called *Synodus Pharensis*[4] was not a church council. It had, indeed, to do with religious matters of grave importance to the life of the Church, but it was a gathering of lay and clerical notables under the presidency of the king. It can hardly be regarded as strictly a witenagemot of the Northumbrian kingdom, as Agilbert, a West Saxon bishop, was present and took part, as did also Tuda, a bishop from South Ireland. It was rather an extraordinary

[1] Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, iii, p. 64. Wilkins, *Concilia Britanniæ*, i, p. 29.

[2] Ep. ii, *ad Zachariam Papam*, A.D. 742.

[3] *Cf.* Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, Oxford 1871, iii, 51. This work is referred to hereafter as H. & S.

[4] Beda, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (ed. Plummer, Oxford, 1896) iii, 25 ff.; Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, iii, pp. 108 ff.; H. & S., iii, 100 ff.

conference called by Oswy for an extraordinary occasion and for his own guidance. There is no type of church council under which it can be brought.

At the time of Whitby the ecclesiastical organization of England was as yet so imperfectly developed that any effective conciliar system was impossible, for there was yet no provincial organization. This was the case in spite of the fact that at least two archbishops had received the pallium. There was not even the ancient political framework of the Roman organization that might have suggested a provincial organization. Gregory the Great, in proposing London and York as metropolitical sees, had assumed the existence of such a framework, but it had long since disappeared. In the Church in Gaul, however, the Roman provincial organization served conveniently as the general basis of the ecclesiastical system.[1] The ecclesiastical metropolitans were simply the bishops of the metropolitical cities, and their suffragans naturally presided over the other cities of their province or eparchy. Augustine received in 601 the pallium; and thereby his see, although it should have been in London, was recognized as metropolitan. But there is no evidence that the see of York enjoyed any archiepiscopal authority whatever before 734. Paulinus, who went there in 625, certainly was not archbishop. In 634 Pope Honorius sent to both Honorius of Canterbury and Paulinus of York pallia. But in the previous year Paulinus had abandoned York after the death of Edwin and was already settled at Rochester.[2] In the letter of Pope Honorius,[3] the scheme of Gregory is evidently in the writer's mind. Nothing came of it. For a hundred and thirty years after Gregory's action

[1] C. 2, *Con. Taurin.*, A.D. 401, Bruns, *Canones Apostolorum et Conciliorum Sæculorum*, IV, V, VI, VII. Berlin, 1839, ii, p. 114.

[2] The statement of Haddan and Stubbs (iii, 84) that he took his pallium with him in flight to Rochester is not borne out by the reference, Beda, ii 20.

[3] H. & S., iii, p. 83.

there was therefore but one ecclesiastical province in England, though for the first half of this long period that province had a merely theoretical existence, as there was no general recognition of the authority of Canterbury. The weakness of Christianity in the North until 635, and the dominance from 635 to 664 of the influence of Iona made anything resembling ecclesiastical unity and provincial administration impossible. After Whitby, or from 664–734, there was actually, as well as in theory, one province. As Bede says, of Theodore, "He was the first among the archbishops whom the whole Church of the English obeyed."[1] This statement is decisive. Up to that time no provincial council had been possible. From 664–734 there was, however, the possibility of such a council representing in fact all Christian England. It is of this brief period only that we can speak of an ecclesiastical unity, or regard the Church as suggesting a closer form of political organization than that of the heptarchy.

After 734 there were two provinces in England. The archbishop of York was the metropolitan of but two or three suffragans; ecclesiastically, Northumbria constituted a distinct province from the rest of England. Between the two provinces there was no ecclesiastical unity except through Rome. The position of Canterbury as regards York was very uncertain for centuries and certainly not at this early period was there any even claimed superiority over the northern metropolitan. The archbishop of Canterbury was not primate in the proper sense of that term which implies various provinces in one kingdom. In place of the Church's furnishing a basis for unity, except so far as it was one more bond of common interest, like law, speech, institutions, it would be much nearer the truth to say that the

[1] *H. e.*, iv, 2. "Isque primus erat in archiepiscopis, cui omnis Anglorum ecclesia manus dare consentiret." *Cf.* Plummer, *ad loc.*, in his edition of Beda, vol. ii, pp. 200, 205.

ultimate union of the kingdoms through conquest and the authority of Wessex was the basis of ecclesiastical unity such as it was.

The provincial councils between 664, when the Roman type triumphed over the Celtic, to 734, when the archbishopric of York was established, deserve our first attention. There were just two gatherings, which may be regarded as provincial councils; both were under Theodore, Hertford in 673 and Hatfield in 680. Both were synods of the entire Church in England. Were they therefore national synods or councils? Or is Stubbs, when he so characterizes them, reading back into the seventh century later conditions?[1] It is difficult to see wherein Hertford in 673 was national.[2] There were various nations in England which later under Wessex became the English nation. In 673 there was no nation of the English, however much the various nations thought of themselves as one race or even as one people. Of the Council of Hertford we have the protocol drawn up by Theodore himself,[3] but there is nothing in it to give any indication of a national character or anything more than what might have been expected under the circumstances. It was the occasion of the first formal organization of the province over which Theodore presided, and synodical action was needed to put an end to the Celtic anarchy brought in from Iona. A brief selection of the most necessary canons was made from the work of Dionysius Exiguus,[4] for this is probably the *liber canonum* of Theodore's protocol, and they were essential to the orderly administration of province and diocese. Of the seventh of these

[1] *Constitutional History*, 1883, §87 *ad init.*

[2] Egfrid, King of Kent, was present, but this did not affect the character of the assembly. *Cf.* Beda, v, 24.

[3] Beda, iv, 5. *Cf.* H. & S., iii, 118.

[4] *Cf.* W. Bright, *Chapters of Early English Church History*, 3d ed. Oxford 1897, p. 277.

canons, that calling for an annual synod at Clovesho, there will be occasion to speak later.

The council of Hertford is regarded by Hinschius[1] as a primatial synod, and the canon calling for a yearly synod at Clovesho as an attempt to establish the authority of Canterbury and the application of the old rule as to provincial synods to the primatial synod of Canterbury. But this is quite to overlook several important elements in the situation. So long as there was but one established archbishopric in England there was but one province, no matter what was the condition later. At Hatfield and in the whole controversy concerning Wilfrid, the archbishop of Canterbury acts as the sole archbishop of the Church in England.[2] The idea of Bede, who wrote in 731, three years before York became an archbishopric, always is that Canterbury was the metropolitan see, and York, quite as much as Winchester, was a suffragan of Canterbury.

At Hatfield Theodore held a second provincial council in 680.[3] This appears to have been in obedience to the decrees of the Roman Council of the previous year. It was the same year as that in which action was taken at Rome on Wilfrid's appeal. But Theodore alone appears in the proceedings at Rome as an archbishop. No complaint is made that Wilfrid has been deprived of any archiepiscopal dignity. Apparently he and Agatho accept the one-province system in England. When therefore the Council of Hatfield was called, it was called by Theodore. There was no more need of royal authority to summon such a council than there was in the contemporaneous provincial councils of Merovingian Gaul. They were all purely church councils and did not

[1] *Kirchenrecht*, iii, 478, n. 2.

[2] *Cf.* Eddius, *Vita Wilfridi*, 42, 43, in H. & S., iii, 169, 172.

[3] Beda, iv, 15; H. & S., iii, 141. The account of this synod in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 675, is a Peterborough forgery: *cf.* Earle and Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, Oxford, 1899, ii, p. 30.

involve secular matters and interests. National councils were a different matter in Gaul. At Hatfield were accepted the dogmatic canons or confession of faith of Pope Martin's council of 649, which had been brought from Rome by John the Precentor. In form the action here and at Hertford, in regard to canons and decrees, appears on much the same footing. Both canons and decrees of foreign councils are accepted in England. The same action is to be found elsewhere very generally. There was not as yet that organization of the West that would make a Roman collection of Canons binding *proprio vigore*. Provincial councils still formally adopted canons which were long current in the Roman collection, even when canons and decrees of ecumenical councils. But it had become in fact little more than a profession of loyalty and a means of publishing necessary regulations. It is inconceivable that on such a matter as the faith, as defined in Pope Martin's council, the English Church would have felt at liberty to reject the decrees brought from Rome. (The disciplinary and administrative problems presented by the case of Wilfrid were wholly different.) The action of Hertford and Hatfield was characteristic of provincial councils throughout the Middle Ages. Legislation was little more than publication or adaptation. The limits within which they acted were very circumscribed. They were administrative rather than legislative assemblies.

The position of Theodore as archbishop of a province which included a number of independent kingdoms was unique. Elsewhere a kingdom might include several provinces, and one metropolitan might be primate. The nearest resemblance to Theodore's position was in the south of France in the early Teutonic kingdoms, whereby the ecclesiastical provinces remained on the old Roman lines, however much political boundaries might change. This was at times the position of the Bishop of Arles. When therefore Theodore and his immediate successors had to deal

with matters in which the interests of a single kingdom were involved, and not the affairs of the province as such, they held councils, or were present at assemblies, which were not provincial synods, in fact were not strictly church councils at all. They were more of the nature of witenagemots of the kingdom concerned. Thus we find Theodore at a Northumbrian synod or council[1] held in 684. At this assembly Cuthbert is elected bishop. It was evidently a *concilium mixtum*.[2] Very similar are the councils held in connection with Wilfrid's affairs at Estrefeld in 702 and on the Nidd in 705, at which Archbishop Brihtwald was present as archbishop, but which were distinctly local in spite of the fact that Eddius says that King Alfrith held his council of Estrefeld "*cum sancto Behrtwaldo Archiepiscopo et totius pene Britanniæ episcopis*,[3] and the gathering on the Nidd was no less distinguished.[4] Of the other councils or synods between Hatfield, 680, and the establishment of the archbishopric of York and the resultant division of the province of Canterbury in 734, none is strictly a church council, with the possible exception of Clovesho, 716,[5] of which the only preserved action is a confirmation of Wihtred's privilege. Baccenceld, 696, at which the privilege had been granted is manifestly a Kentish witenagemot.[6] That concerning the division of the diocese of Wessex in 705 is similarly a Wessex witenagemot.[7]

After 734 we have, as was to be expected, very little account of conciliar activity in the Northern Province. A metropolitan with two or three suffragans was very easily absorbed into the national witenagemot, and so completely as to leave little opportunity for provincial councils. The

[1] The names are used interchangeably. Both are applied to lay, clerical, and mixed assemblies. *Cf.* Ducange, *Glossarium*, *s. v. synodus*. It was the same on the Continent. *Cf.* Hauck, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 215, n. 4.

[2] Beda, iv, 28; H. & S., iii, 165. [3] H. & S., iii, 251.

[4] *Ibid.* iii, 264. [5] *Ibid.* iii, 300. [6] *Ibid.* iii, 238 ff. [7] *Ibid.*, iii, 268.

various councils therefore held at Acle, 782, 788, 795, 804, 805, 810, all appear to be Northumbrian witenagemots at some of which church business was transacted. But were not provincial councils needed for matters of discipline as much as diocesan? In theory they would be, but in practice, where we have any record, provincial councils were held with the greatest irregularity and it is certain that in England in the later Anglo-Saxon period they wholly disappeared. Diocesan synods may be assumed as probable without much evidence. But provincial synods have no presumption in their favor.[1]

In the Southern Province[2] there was rather more conciliar activity, as was to be expected. The most important council seems to be that of Clovesho in 747 under Archbishop Cuthbert,[3] Here were passed many reformatory canons, some of them hortatory rather than mandatory in form. Ethelbald, King of the Mercians, was present with his chief men ("*cum suis principibus ac ducibus*"). Was it a strictly church council, such as those of Theodore at Hertford and Hatfield, or a *concilium mixtum*, such as were the contemporaneous early Carlovingian assemblies? It is a significant fact that a few years earlier, at the *Concilium Germanicum*, of 724, Carlman, with the assistance of Boniface of Mainz, had issued an ecclesiastical capitulary, containing a number of canons similar to those of Clovesho in 747. The *Concilium Germanicum* was certainly a *concilium mixtum*, one of those councils on the border line between the church council and the secular council or primitive parliament. A profitable line of investigation is here opened as to the

[1] *Cf.* Hinschius, *op. cit.* iii, pp. 475–485.

[2] The term "province" is perhaps unfortunate from its connotation. It is apt to be misunderstood as being a division of a national church. It meant the district within which an archbishop had metropolitical authority. It might be coterminous with a political district as a kingdom or be merely part of a kingdom. The province was a province of the universal Church.

[3] H. & S., iii, 360. The canons may be found in Gee and Hardy, *Documents illustrative of English Church History*, London, 1896, p. 15.

relation of the ecclesiastical development in England to that of Germany and France.

With the mention of the important council of Clovesho in 747, the question arises as to the fate of the canon of Hertford, 673, calling for a yearly council at that place. That councils of some sort were held at Clovesho is certain. With what regularity they were held, is quite uncertain, as likewise their character. There are various charters confirmed at Clovesho. Often the only evidence of an assembly at the place is in a charter which would naturally be carefully preserved. The business of ordinary church councils offered little to attract attention and they would easily pass unrecorded. But on the other hand, the mere passage of a canon at Hertford is little evidence that there was anything approaching regular meetings of councils at Clovesho, though it often seems to have been regarded as evidence. In every part of Christendom and in every century, canons are to be found enacted at provincial and national councils calling for frequent councils, often coupled with a statement that none had been held for a long period.[1] The canon of Hertford was merely a repetition of ancient canons of Nicea, Antioch, and Chalcedon as well as the 32d of the Apostolic Canons and the 18th and 95th of the African collection.[2] The same is true of canons passed elsewhere. They repeat earlier canons. It is certain that at the time of the Conquest, when ecclesiastical councils were once more established, there had been no provincial or other church councils for very many years.[3] It seems probable that for the early part of the period between the council of Hertford, 673, and the Council of London, 1075, provincial synods might have been held

[1] *Cf.* Hinschius, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 474; Richter-Dove-Kahl, *Kirchenrecht* (Leipzig, 1886), § 149, n. 8; Loening, *op. cit.*, i, p. 373 ff; ii, pp. 203 ff.

[2] *Cf.* H. & S., iii, 120.

[3] Can. 1, *Con. Lond.*, 1075. See Wilkins, *Concilia*, i, 363; Gee and Hardy, *Documents, etc.*, p. 54.

occasionally without leaving any trace, but that they were numerous must be established by evidence, and of that there is not sufficient; and that soon after A.D. 800 provincial synods gradually ceased by being absorbed into the witenagemot, as is clearly seen in the ecclesiastical laws of the various kings. The synods of Clovesho in 798,[1] 803,[2] 824,[3] 825,[4] all appear to be *concilia mixta* shading off imperceptibly into witenagemots. After 825 we find no more gatherings of any sort at Clovesho.

From 734 there is not a trace of united action of the whole Church in the Anglo-Saxon nations in England. An occasion arose toward the end of the eighth century, when it would have seemed likely that some such united action might take place if there was anything resembling church unity in England. In 786 or 787, Hadrian I sent his legates George and Theophylact to England. They were to correct abuses of a customary character, to judge by the results of their labors. Just why they should have been sent is not quite clear. Probably there was some special occasion for the action of the pope. Possibly the desire of Offa to establish the Mercian archbishopric of Lichfield had something to do with their mission. They first gathered a northern council at some unknown spot, possibly at Pincahala, a place not clearly to be identified.[5] There were present King Alfwald of Northumbria, Archbishop Eanbald of York and his suffragans, with two visiting bishops, together with many abbots and chief men. Immediately after this council the legates betook themselves to the Southern Province and held a council at Celchyth, or Chelsea, which seems to be the best identification of the place.[6] At this council King Offa of

[1] H. & S., iii, 512. [2] *Ibid.*, iii, 541. [3] *Ibid.*, iii, 592.
[4] *Ibid.*, iii, 596. [5] *Ibid.*, iii, 443.
[6] *Ibid.*, iii, 447. See also Earl of Selborne, *Ancient Facts and Fictions, concerning Churches and Tithes*, London 1892, pp. 144–168. The canons may be found in Gee and Hardy, *Documents, etc.*, pp. 32 ff.

Mercia, Archbishop Jaenbert of Canterbury and his suffragans, and a large number of prominent laymen were present. It was evidently impracticable to hold a legatine synod which should comprise both provinces in England. Yet it was the one occasion on which after 734 a council might be called representative of what eventually became under Wessex the Anglo-Saxon Church[1] but in the same way that there was a Frankish Church, *i.e.* through the secular authority. This striking fact in connection with the mission of the legates is all the more evident, when it is recalled that the actions of the two synods were so entirely the same, so far as canons went, —and they are apparently the main matter—that the report of the legates covers both councils. These synods should be compared with the Council of Frankfort in 794, likewise composed of king, bishops, nobility, and papal legates.

After 787 the ecclesiastical organization corresponded more closely to the political condition of England. There were three dominant nations, Northumbria, Mercia and Wessex; there were the three ecclesiastical provinces, York, Lichfield, and Mercia. Northumbria, however, was rapidly drifting into the anarchy of the ninth century, and ecclesiastically it was out of touch with the rest of the Anglo-Saxons[2] with very little conciliar activity. Pincahala, held in 798,[3] is apparently the only important provincial synod. In the South, on the other hand, there appear to be various occasions when councils were assembled of apparently an ecclesiastical character. Here there were two provinces and two archbishops and the councils recorded appear to cover both provinces. Thus in 789 at Chelsea[4] both Jænbert of

[1] *I. e.* the church of a nation and not merely of a race or a geographical area. The unity of the entire Church of the Anglo-Saxons, other than being parts of the Universal Church, depends upon the unity of the Anglo-Saxon people. In the constant reference to the unity of the Church the existence of the Province of York is quite left out. *Cf.* Green, *Making of England*, p. 323 f.

[2] *Cf.* Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, i, p. 260.

[3] H. & S., iii, 527.

[4] Ibid., iii, 465.

Canterbury and Higbert of Lichfield are present with their suffragans. Offa is also present as Mercian king. It might appear that this was merely a witenagemot at which charters were signed. The question, however, arises, Why are both provinces fully represented at a Mercian witenagemot? Winchester, Sherborne and Selsey were the three Wessex sees. Again, are we to consider this as a quasi-national synod as in the Frankish Church of the Merovinigian period? At that time national councils were held under the joint authority of the kings of the various dominions concerned.[1] The same phenomena may be found later viz. at Chelsea, 793; Clovesho, 794; Clovesho, 798; Chelsea, 801.[2] It is hard to assume that both archbishops held their respective provincial councils at the same time and place and likewise at the same time and place as the Mercian witenagemot. Again it is hard to understand how the King of Mercia could summon the bishops of Wessex to his witenagemots.

Clovesho, which long after Theodore had become a recognized place for political and ecclesiastical gatherings, saw the end of the Lichfield archbishopric. In 803 it became once more a suffragan see of Canterbury, together with the other dioceses that had withdrawn their obedience under Offa. The council of Clovesho in 803 appears to have been a church council, one of the comparatively few in Anglo-Saxon times. The council was called by Archbishop Ethelheard. All the bishops were present. Acting under the direction of Pope Leo and in virtue of the authority given the council, the old ecclesiastical order was restored, and other business transacted according to the papal mandate[3].

It may well be that on the occasion of a church council, including bishops from several kingdoms, a king might summon his witan to meet at the same time and place. For a provincial council there was no reason to believe that a

[1] Loening, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 133. Hinschius, *op. cit.* iii, 539 ff.
[2] H. & S., iii, 474, 483, 512, 530. [3] H. & S., iii, 541.

royal mandate was necessary.[1] It was only needed in the case of a king whose territories included several ecclesiastical provinces, and this was not the case in England until late, and then there were no such councils called in Anglo-Saxon times. As an instance of the coincident meetings of council and witenagemot might be taken the important provincial synod of Chelsea in 816,[2] at which important canons were passed, a rare event so far as records show. The king was present with his chief men. There is no reason to believe that they took any part in the purely ecclesiastical business. That seems to have been left to the bishops and other clergy. But at the same time Kenulph of Mercia transacts business of his witenagemot, as shown by a charter attested by bishops present at the council.

The difficulty occasioned by the presence of bishops of other kingdoms, at what appear to be witenagemots disappears under Egbert. He might easily have held witenagemots in his various conquered kingdoms, for the union was a personal character, at which for one reason or another bishops were present from other parts of his extensive territories. Such were meetings in 833 in Kent, in Dorchester, and in 835 at Abingdon.

The last important church council of the Anglo-Saxons was that of Kingston in 838,[3] evidently a provincial council. There are no records of any canons or other ecclesiastical business transacted. But in the same year or possibly in the next, a meeting of the witenagemot was held at Wilton which confirmed the secular transactions at Kingston.[4] In the same year another provincial council was held "aet Astran,"[5] a place not identified. On account of the distinction between the various meetings and their relation to each other

[1] *Cf.* Loening, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 203 f. for the conditions in the Frankish kingdom. See also Hinschius, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 477.

[2] H. & S., iii, 579.

[3] *Ibid.*, iii, 617.

[4] *Ibid.*, iii, 620.

[5] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 624.

it is clear that the council of Kingston was not a witenagemot. It was probably the last purely ecclesiastical gathering in Anglo-Saxon times. The need of such gatherings appears to have passed. Henceforth kings in their witenagemots legislate for the Church when it was necessary and if matters of a specially ecclesiastical character needed consideration, the bishops were always present and constituted an important and permanent element in the body of the witan.

The fact that the Anglo-Saxons readily accepted Christianity added one more bond of union between the various nations in England. It also made it possible for the Anglo-Saxons to come into friendly intercourse with nations on the Continent. The action of several Continental councils is accordingly duplicated in Anglo-Saxon assemblies. It was possible for bishops of other countries to receive sees in England. The early history of Christianity in Wessex gives instances of this. The impression that is left by a detailed study of the church councils of the Anglo-Saxons is that the Church as an organized institution did not have so much to offer that would make directly for a closer union of the kingdoms, as it has been the custom to assume.

The councils were very few, as distinct from secular gatherings. They were very far from being regularly held. When the actual circumstances of the union of the kingdoms are examined, there seems very little room for profound Church influence. It was the strong arm of warlike kings that welded the nations together. Even after Wessex had obtained control of all England, the union was a personal union for many years. If the unity of religion helped the people come to an understanding after the conquests had been affected, it was at a time when the Church had ceased to hold councils independently of the assemblies of the state. Any assertion that the Church was a unity before the state is true only for one part of England, the province of Canterbury, except in the period between 668 and 734. England

on a small scale was after 664 an ecclesiastical unity in precisely the same way that the whole of Western Europe was an ecclesiastical unity. With the political unity the unity of the Church that was effected was a political unity, all were subjects of the same king.

The Reformation Historically Explained

By

Preserved Smith

THE REFORMATION HISTORICALLY EXPLAINED

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BY many scientists as well as by the pragmatist philosophers we are told that the best, if not the only possible, test of a given thing is what it does. From physics we learn that whereas the nature of matter or of electricity defies definition, it is possible to describe the operation or effect that each has. In a book of economics I have read the definition "money is what money does." Apparently the same test must be applied to historical phenomena. If we would know the real nature of a given invention or a new ideal we must inquire exactly what was the change in human life that it introduced. It is this test that I propose to apply to the Reformation. I propose to show that of seven great changes which came over the people of Western Europe in the sixteenth century the Reformation was the ideal expression; in part effect, in part cause, in part so intimately connected with some social, philosophical, political or economic movement, that it is hard to say which it is.

Such a method should be rich in results. It promises no less than to show exactly why a religious revolution was necessary, and why it took precisely the form that it did. Such an explanation of the Reformation is urgently needed, for the older causes assigned are no longer considered valid and no new adequate explanation has been advanced. The first of the older explanations is that of special divine inter-

position.[1] The second of the older causes given for the Reformation is the corruption of the Church.[2] But that this could not have been the cause of a new development is evident from the fact that the corruption was of long standing—no worse in the sixteenth century than it had been for ages. Third, among the older causes given, that of the genius of a great man is the most important. But *a priori* speculation on one side and more careful historical investigation on the other have alike, from different quarters, discredited this explanation. Great men are not only the products of their age, but their whole success is attained and can only be attained, by their representative quality. An analogy to biological science here holds good. The origin of a given phenomenon, like the horn of the stag or the wing of the bird is still unexplained, it must be treated as an "accidental variation"; but, once the variation has appeared, science can tell why it should survive. Great men are but "accidental variations"; their influence or the idea or movement started by them survives or perishes according as it is useful or the reverse.

But while the old explanations have been largely rejected and while many scholars have felt the need of new ones, none that is adequate has as yet been offered. Those who have felt most strongly the political and economic connections of the Reformation have given all too vague expression to their theory. Henry C. Lea thought that the religious changes were but a means to secure political ends, but what these ends were and why the dogmatic battle affected them he has left untold.[3] To Belfort Bax the essence of the Reformation was the change from a co-operative to an individualistic society and its mainsprings were economic, but why the

[1] Represented by Beza, *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, John Foxe, Merle d'Aubigné (1835), and many others until the present time.

[2] Even a philosopher like Francis Bacon—see his essay on *Vicissitudes*—considers this the main cause of the Reformation. It has been given in most histories.

[3] *Cambridge Modern History*, i, p. 653.

social shift took this form and what the mainsprings precisely were, he cannot explain.[1] Attempts to find the real root of the Reformation in the desire of the people to avoid the payment of tithes and in the desire of princes to confiscate ecclesiastical property, seem to me altogether inadequate.[2] Hundreds of thousands would not have died a martyr's death to secure these trifling material gains. What then were, precisely, the connections of the Reformation with the social tendencies of the age, that made the religious revolution inevitable? I shall point out seven.

1. To take the most obvious of these relationships first, the Reformation fell in with the rising tide of nationalism. It was a revolt from the domination of a universal church-state, partly in the interests of the national state, partly in the interests of the Teutonic race. The political element in the religious revolution has been recognized by many historians, including the first to write upon the subject, Sleidan.[3] Its rediscovery in our own time has led to the rechristening of the whole movement as "the Protestant revolt," or "Protestant revolution."[4] But this terminology is just as inadequate as the old name to describe the whole scope of the movement and it suffers under the insuperable objections to all new terminology as against that fixed by long and unanimous usage. The fact that the Catholic Church was a world-state and was the direct heir of the Roman Empire has been often noticed and is susceptible of

[1] Belfort Bax, *German Culture Past and Present*, 1915, repeating his earlier works.

[2] Prof. A. E. Harvey of Chicago University in *Lutheran Survey*, Aug. 1, 1917.

[3] J. Sleidani *De statu religionis et reipublicæ Carolo Quinto Cæsare*, Preface to edition of 1561.

[4] Both names are often found in the older historians. F. Seebohm and E. M. Hulme have entitled their works "The Protestant Revolution." J. H. Robinson proposes "Protestant Revolt," *Encyclopædia Britannica, s. v.* "Reformation."

proof.[1] Hobbes, in calling the papacy the ghost of the Empire, sitting crowned upon its grave, rather attenuated than exaggerated the truth. The Church had its monarch, its representative legislative assemblies, its laws, its lawyers, its courts of justice. It was not a voluntary society, for, if citizens were not born into it, they were baptized before they could help themselves. It kept prisons and passed sentence (virtually if not nominally) of death. It was supported by involuntary contributions. It treated with other governments as one power with another; it took lands and occasionally whole kingdoms in fief.

Now the Reformation was in one aspect a revolt from this state. During the later Middle Ages the European nations developed a self-consciousness that showed itself, among other ways, in the assertion of ecclesiastical independence. In the English statutes of *Mortmain*, *Provisors* and *Premunire*, in the French Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges and Concordat of Bologna, in the refusal of the Catholic monarchs to promulgate the decrees of the Council of Trent, in the foundation of the new bishoprics in the Netherlands in 1559 in order to make the political and ecclesiastical jurisdictions correspond, we see exactly the same trend that asserted itself, more logically and completely, in the Reformation. The national church took the place of the universal Church; the ultimate authority in the Lutheran, Anglican, and Calvinist communions was the state.[2] The

[1] T. Hobbes, *Works*, ed. Molesworth, iii, 1839, pp. 697 f.

Harnack, *What is Christianity?* 1901, pp. 263 ff. Maitland, *Canon Law in the Church of England*, p. 100.

[2] That Luther had fleeting ideas of congregational ecclesiastical polity cannot be denied. If Dr. Kerr D. Macmillan—see his *Protestantism in Germany*, 1917—is right in saying that Luther would have preferred congregational government but was unable to establish it, that is another and stronger proof that the Reformers could only succeed where they fell in with the spirit of the time. We often think of Calvinism as predominantly congregational, but it only attained that character, under Anabaptist influence, in the seventeenth century.

Anabaptists, a Protestant sect in which congregationalism and independence of the state were advocated, failed completely in the sixteenth century because in this, as in other points, they were not in harmony with the prevailing spirit of the age.

Moreover the great revolt was racial as well as national. Like a second Teutonic invasion it again freed German lands from Latin dominion. So much of the *Romanitas* (to use Augustine's word) of the classic Empire had survived in the Roman Church that, when the tide of the Reformation reached its flood, the limits of the old Church were practically those of the old Empire. The Rhine and the Danube once again separated Latin from German lands; in the British Isles, England and Scotland, having become Teutonic became Protestant, but Ireland, untouched, remained Catholic. It is true that all who spoke Teutonic languages did not become Protestant; but it is significant that hardly any non-Teutonic people was permanently won for the Reformation.

That the Reformation has been one of the characteristic manifestations of the German spirit, or, as Fichte said, the consummate achievement of the German people and "its perfect act of world-wide significance" (*vollendete Weltthat*),[1] has been generally recognized. If we ask wherein its specifically German quality consisted, the best answer we can give is that this quality lay in its idealism, its subjectivism, its inwardness.[2] To describe the contrast of the German and Latin spirits, I am tempted to revive the obsolescent distinctions of "romantic" and "classic." As surely as the Latin spirit has the order, restraint, harmony and restful beauty of classicism, so has the German race the curiosity, mysticism,

[1] *Reden an die deutsche Nation*, ed. of 1871, p. 68.

[2] Of many references that might be given I select two. J. Dewey, *German Philosophy and Politics*, 1915; George Santayana, *Egotism in German Philosophy*, 1917.

and yearning to transcend all bounds and all laws in search of self-expression, characteristic of romanticism.[1] Even in revolution the German mind is both subjective and idealistic. Where the French strove for political equality and the Anglo-Saxon for economic freedom, the German sought and won religious and spiritual emancipation. If we read Luther's *Freedom of a Christian Man* we learn that he cared neither for universal suffrage nor for equal economic opportunity nor for our modern joy in wandering untrammeled through the things of the intellect. No: the "Christian man is most free lord of all" simply because no power on earth can make him renounce his inward faith.

2. The Reformation was not only a political and racial revolt, but a social revolution. The new religion met the needs of a rising class in both political and economic ways. It gave a spiritual seal to the downfall of the two privileged classes and to the rise of certain portions of the third estate. The first privileged order, the clergy, it attacked directly. Luther abolished, in theory totally and in practice largely, the old distinction between priest and layman. Some men, said he, were called to preach, just as others were called to make shoes, but the one calling was no more spiritual than the other.[2] The attack on the second estate, the nobles, was only indirect, a corollary of the rise of the third estate. The increasing power of the common people at the expense of feudalism was one characteristic of the later Middle Ages, and it showed itself, though in different ways, in the various branches of the Protestant Church. In all of these, the message of the excellence of the humblest Christian and that of his perfect equality before God, from whom all men were

[1] It is suggestive that the "romantic" historians and philosophers, Carlyle, Froude, Michelet, Motley, estimated the value of the Reformation and the character of the Reformers extremely high.

[2] *Werke*, Weimar, vi, p. 409. Many other references could be given.

separated by so infinite a distance that distinctions in human rank vanished, was essentially democratic, but its application was varied. The Anabaptists were egalitarians and socialists of the extreme left. The important thing about them was not the vagaries of their dogmas or occasionally of their morals, but that they constituted the representatives of the very lowest class, the uneducated and poverty-stricken proletariat. This also explains why they were crushed. Society was not yet ready to grant this class the franchise.

But Lutheranism and Calvinism represented the richer portion of the third estate, primarily the *bourgeoisie* of the cities. The fact is patent that among this class the Reformation first triumphed. But in Lutheranism this tendency worked itself out otherwise than it did in Calvinism. In Germany, as elsewhere, the city burgesses found their best ally against the predatory lesser nobles in the central government.[1] If Luther stood stoutly for the authority of the powers that be and for passive resistance, that was not a calculated policy but was one, nevertheless, that so marvelously fitted in with the temper of the age, nation, and class to which he appealed, that it was sure to survive. Like most Germans he was more of a mystic than a politician. He cherished his heavenly franchises so highly that he almost despised his earthly rights. He thought that the emancipation of the serf made the liberty of Christ an external thing. But his procedure was democratic in that he perforce appealed to public opinion and won his whole success by that means. That he greatly cared for social reform no one can deny, but the reform must come from above, not from "*Herr Omnes*." He also cared for good government and, with all his assertion of the divine right of monarchs, reserved to himself the privilege of criticising kings and of pointing out that they were commonly "the worst knaves

[1] Primarily, the great princes and electors, and finally the imperial government profited.

and biggest fools on earth." Is it not significant that there arose in Germany a government of the sort that Luther would have approved; one efficient and enlightened beyond others in ruling its own subjects but one in which those subjects had little direct power?

In Calvinism the essentially republican element in Protestantism worked out uninhibited by Luther's mysticism or monarchism. Not to mention the important fact that both Zwingli and Calvin lived in free Switzerland, they both were more practical and more logical than Luther. There was a good deal of republican feeling in the sixteenth century. It appears in humanists like Erasmus and even in some Jesuits, but it was strongest in the Huguenots and Puritans. In France they were consciously republican; in Holland, with some Anabaptist help, they founded a republic, and in England, also not without Anabaptist influence, they did the same. America they sowed with the most democratic communities the world has ever known. The debt of modern democracy to these men is enormous. Feeling themselves kings by the election of grace, and priests by the imposition of the hands of God, they went through life with a matchless disdain of all earthly grandeur. Prostrating themselves before the terrible decree of Providence, they trod upon the necks of kings.

3. In another great social revolution, partly economic, partly psychological, Protestantism had its full share. The rise of the *bourgeoisie* to the leading place in the modern state was largely the result of the rise of capitalism. Medieval industry had been co-operative; the capital needed was small and the guilds furnished the technical training which was the chief requisite to production. But with the introduction of improved methods requiring costly outlay and with the vastly increased demand, capital seized first on one industry and then on another, in much the same manner

that the trusts are supplanting competition in our own time. Thus there came to be a wealthy class of owners and a poor proletariat of laborers. The former had, at this time, nearly all the power, taking over the ancient privileges of municipality and guild, and administering them in their own interest. Partly because of this increase of wealth and of industrialism and partly for other reasons, there came over the spirit of the peoples a psychological change so marked that no one can fail to appreciate it. I mean the change from pessimism to optimism and from an other-worldliness to an absorbing interest in the things of this life. In general it may be said that in an age when improvement in knowledge and general comfort seems to be rapid, optimism will prevail, and contrariwise at a time like that of the centuries following the fall of Rome, when civilization seems rather to be breaking up and there is general misery and discouragement, pessimism is natural.

Now, one of the important contrasts between even early Protestantism and Catholicism is that the ethics of the former are far more oriented by a reference to the things of this life. Of course this is a mere matter of emphasis; the Catholic did not wholly disregard this world and the Reformers had a very lively sense of the reality of the next. But the general contrast is real and important. The Catholic ideal is the monastic: asceticism, mortification of the flesh, celibacy, poverty, humility, renunciation of the world. But the Reformers saw absolutely no virtue in asceticism as such. Not to renounce the world but to use it for God's purposes was their ideal and all natural pleasures were regarded as good gifts of God. Married and industrial life became typically godly, just as one would expect from what one knows of the commercial class to which Protestantism made its strongest appeal. Protestantism has been called by George Santayana "consecrated worldliness,"[1] and I do not

[1] *Reason in Religion*, 1906.

see why it should hesitate to adopt the characterization as its own. When Luther said that the man at the plow and the maid with the broom were doing God more service than the monk, he introduced a new element into religion. For the first time piety became *chiefly* a matter of everyday duty. And the proclamation of monastic emancipation branded the ascetic celibacy of the Middle Ages as obsolete, and restored to a life of productivity and fertility energies previously barren, if not wasted in unwholesome ways.

But there is an even closer correspondence between the Reformation and the industrial revolution of the sixteenth century. When Winckelmann sneered at Protestantism as the "religion of merchants," he was probably not aware of the historic and by no means dyslogistic sense that his words might bear. Whereas the Middle Ages had almost sanctified both alms and begging and had respected poverty as "apostolic," the sixteenth century ceased first to respect and then to tolerate either mendicancy or pauperism. All over Europe sturdy beggars were being whipped and forced to work, that is, drafted into the army of labor required by the new capitalistic industry. Poor-relief on a new plan with great spontaneity sprang into existence in all quarters; the measures taken in Germany under the direction of Luther were exactly contemporaneous with, and very similar to, those taken in the Netherlands under the humanistic guidance of Vives.[1]

Now, this new view of economic problems as well as of asceticism was sanctioned by the Reformers. The prime virtues of thrift and industry were inculcated; prosperity was regarded as the blessing of God and the acquirement of wealth was even made a pious duty. Especially in Calvinism, more practical and less mystic than Lutheranism, did the new alliance come to its fullest expression, making

[1] H. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, vol. iii, 1907.

"Calvinism and capitalism"[1] one of the legitimate characterizations of the new movement.

4. One of the most generally noticed changes from the spirit of the Middle Ages to that of modern times is the growth of individualism. Important as the subject is, it is one that I have never seen fully or convincingly presented, but that the fact is as stated I cannot doubt. The Middle Ages were the great era, since history began, of corporate and mass activity. The universities were the first corporate embodiments of learning. Industry was in the hands of the guild. The people were divided into carefully marked "estates." The ideas of a universal Church and a universal empire made of the whole world a single entity. The great cathedrals arose not from the plans of a single architect but from the co-operation of many anonymous and obscure artisans. But gradually men became more self-conscious. This was due in small part to growing mental power, in large part to widening knowledge, and perhaps chiefly to the self-confidence engendered by the wonderful and hitherto undreamed-of exploits in all fields of intellectual and of material progress. Every enrichment of life is accompanied by an increase of self-consciousness. The child and perhaps the lowest savage are entirely unaware of the ego. For a long time after childhood most men are so wrapped up in external things that they have little time for introspection. But consciousness of subject finally comes with consciousness of object; the man becomes fully aware of his will and of his personality.

This change, obvious in all fields in the period now considered, was also a part of the Reformation. Though the contrast has been too strongly stated at times, there can be no doubt that in tendency Protestantism is the religion of private judgment and Catholicism that of authority. In the

[1] M. Weber, "Die protestantische Ethik und der 'Geist' des Kapitalismus," *in Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, xx, xxi, 1905.

Reformers themselves this tendency was unconscious, the effect rather than the design of their work. Nothing was further from their thoughts than introducing complete religious subjectivity, which to them would have meant anarchy. Private judgment was strictly conditioned, in their theory, by the external authority of the Bible and of the Christian community, the latter really objective, the former conceived as such. But Luther's example worked more powerfully than his precept. He had appealed from the indulgence-seller to the pope, from the pope to the ecumenical council, and then had declared that councils could err. The Scripture, to which he appealed as the only authority left, was necessarily interpreted in various and contradictory ways. Luther did his best to stop his followers from going further than had he, but in vain. Having insisted on the right of private judgment for himself, and having vindicated this right successfully, he initiated a method more vital than his own dogmatic authority. Men followed his example rather than his system. The very number of the Protestant sects is a proof of the individualism inherent in its nature.

In this connection it is natural to consider the relation of the Reformation to tolerance, one of the greatest and happiest achievements of modern times. It is sometimes denied that the Reformers had the least share in bringing this about, because they themselves were not usually tolerant. Luther was fairly so until 1525, saying that thoughts were free of taxes ("*zollfrei*"), that it was wrong to put heretics to death, and that his opponents might teach what they liked "be it gospel or lies." In 1523 he even defended from molestation Anabaptists whose teaching he detested, for, said he, "heresy is a spiritual thing, it cannot be burned with fire or drowned with water or cut with the knife."[1] But the Peasants' War of 1524–5 convinced him of the

[1] J. A. Faulkner. "Luther and Toleration," *Papers of the American Society of Church History*, 2d series, vol. iv, 1914, pp. 129 ff, and vol. v, 1917, pp. 1 ff.

necessity of enforcing uniformity. In 1529 an imperial edict, passed with the consent of the Lutherans at Spires, condemned Anabaptists to death, and in pursuance thereof, a regular inquisition, headed by Melanchthon, was set up in Saxony, under which many poor people suffered death and imprisonment. Luther wrote in defence of this course, saying that all heretics who were also anarchists or who preached against private property, and also all those who rejected some universally believed article of the creed, should be executed and that others, as for example the Catholics, should be banished. His fellow reformers were only too ready to follow this example and precept. Zwingli had Anabaptists drowned, remarking that the method of punishment was a practical satire on baptism by immersion. Calvin judicially murdered Servetus. Knox was a bloody persecutor. The wars of religion followed.

Did the Reformation then really represent a reaction in this respect? We are told on excellent authority that prior to Luther's "apple of discord" (as Erasmus called it), a growing spirit of liberalism had attained a freedom of thought unknown until our own day.[1] But what are the facts? As I see them, this Renaissance tolerance was only for the privileged few, those who spoke Latin and wrote "academically" and who were courted by popes and princes as the dispensers of fame. But what porridge was given to the people? What tolerance was extended to the Hussites in the fifteenth century? What freedom had the Jews, expelled from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella and tortured by royal dentistry in other lands? What mercy was shown the Lollards in England, of whom so many were burned in London in 1511 that the humanist Ammonius complained the price of fire-wood was going up?[2] In that enlightened

[1] G. L. Burr in *American Historical Review* 1914, pp. 710–726, and 1917, pp. 253 ff.

[2] *Opus Epistolarum Erasmi*, ed. P. S. Allen, 1906, i, p. 239.

and gentle era Lorenzo Valla, who in elegant Latin mocked the papacy, attacked the Vulgate and the ethics of Christianity, and who preached to the learned skepticism and hedonism, could hold a benefice from the pope, but Savonarola, who in the vernacular told men how to be Christian, was put to death. I am not complaining of the tolerance shown to Valla, I applaud it; I merely say that I refuse to admire or to claim part or lot in a tolerance granted only to the learned and refused to the common people. It was just this latter tolerance that Protestantism, after many struggles, finally aided to establish. If the Reformers were intolerant, they had not only the example of the Church but, what is more important, the excuse of self-defence. They found themselves in the same position then that a nation wishing disarmament does now. If they alone had been tolerant, they would have been at a great disadvantage. But at last the deadlock of forces, coupled with a higher moral sense, brought about tolerance by slow degrees. The first step in the direction, and a small one, was the Peace of Augsburg of 1555. Each local government could choose between the Roman and Lutheran communions and any individual whose convictions were out of harmony with those of his government, could be safe by emigrating to a neighboring land. The next step was the Union of Utrecht in 1579, and the next was the Edict of Nantes in 1598. One generation later, complete freedom of conscience was granted on principle in the American Colonies, and from them it spread throughout Europe. And this evolution was perhaps chiefly the result of the Reformation.

5. Quite analogous to the services of the Reformation to the cause of liberty of conscience are its services to the cause of enlightenment. It did little or nothing for the progress of scientific or philosophic research, but it was a great popular educator. Its spirit, indeed, was anything but consciously rational. No dogmas were rejected as contrary to reason, and

many above the power of reason to verify were adopted from the old Church. The Reformers took over without question the belief in the existence of an ethical, personal God, and in immortality, in the Trinity, the incarnation, resurrection, and miracles of Christ. Though they scrupled at the late term "transubstantiation," both Luther and Calvin maintained the mystery of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharistic bread and wine. Moreover, the Reformers adopted the horrible superstitions of demonology and witchcraft which flourished as luxuriantly on Protestant as on Catholic soil. Natural reason is denounced by Luther and Calvin in terms as strong as those used by the Council of Trent. Reason, according to the Wittenberg professor, is "Frau Hulda,[1] the devil's harlot." With one accord the Reformers, like the Catholics, denounced the new astronomy of Copernicus and Galileo. It is not fair to see in the opposition of the churches the main obstacle to the acceptance of the Copernican theory, for long after the publication of his book the evidence of the senses, of tradition, and of the absence of any observed stellar parallax, convinced unbiased men like Bacon that the earth was immobile. But it must be admitted that the Reformation did nothing directly for either science or philosophy. In their own field of biblical criticism, indeed, their record is singularly mixed. Luther could denounce the textual criticism of Erasmus as tantamount to atheism and yet could be as free as any one, when it suited him, and could pass acute and radical judgments on some of the books of Scripture.

But where the Reformation fell in with, and accelerated, the rising tide of enlightenment was as an educator of the people. Even in its attitude to science and philosophy we see reflected the position that the ordinary, fairly intelligent

[1] "Wider die Himmlischen Propheten," Part ii, *Werke*, Weimar, xviii, pp. 182 ff. Hulda was the old Germanic goddess of love and beauty who had, in medieval times, degenerated into a witch and the devil's paramour.

man has always taken. The typical business man regards a certain amount of education as an advantage and a necessity, but he has a deep distrust of "the highbrow" and the "damned professor." So in the sixteenth century, when the business man and Protestantism were going forth hand in hand, conquering and to conquer, there was a passionate demand for more education and a deep distrust of too much of it. Is not this the secret of the despairing cry of Erasmus, the eternal complaint of the intellectual against democracy, "Where Lutheranism reigns, learning perishes, and yet this sort of man is especially nourished by learning"?[1] The first clause is more frequently quoted than the second, but is not truer.

The work of the Reformation in stimulating education was partly direct and partly indirect. Luther very earnestly inculcated the necessity of schooling for both sexes, and he was the first to hint at that compulsory education now generally prevalent. Then again the Reformation gave a great stimulus to reading; if it owed its success to the newly invented art of typography, it can almost be said that bookmaking owed its popularity to the Reformation. But far more than in these direct ways Luther proved to be the greatest *vulgarisateur* of ideas ever known, and his movement the greatest solvent of conservatism that had appeared in the world for a millenium or more. He sharply questioned and in part overthrew the religion that had been accepted among the masses almost without question for twelve centuries, that had dominated their intellectual and spiritual life and shaped their art and literature and law, and had inextricably interwoven itself with every department of public and private life. Religion had not been unquestioned in the schools,

[1] Letter to Pirckheimer, *Erasmi Opera*, 1703, iii, col. 1138, commonly dated 1528. On the true date of the letter and for other comment on it see *Luther's Correspondence and other contemporary Letters*, translated and edited by Preserved Smith and C. M. Jacobs, vol. ii, 1918, let. 821.

nor was it the exclusive interest of the masses, but at that time, far more than to-day, it was an all-pervasive, self-confident and strongly conservative force. Think what it implied, to call this faith before the bar of public opinion, to make the masses, for the first time, really think about the deepest questions in the universe. The "cake of custom" was at last broken as it had never been broken before. Indeed, the success of the Reformers was greater than they themselves would have wished. Protestant dogma has narrowed slowly down from precedent to precedent until now in some quarters Protestantism is little more than pious skepticism. Claiming no infallibility, the Protestants could retreat from positions once held; divided into many sects, the exiles from one might find shelter, if they chose, in another. For these reasons it has undoubtedly been easier for Protestants to assimilate the results of modern science and philosophy than it has for Catholics. It is the beauty of Protestantism, though the torment of some Protestants, that, like all concessions to reason, it can never stop at any given point, but must inevitably go on and on to something beyond.

6. As the Reformation was the natural product of the social forces operating at the close of the Middle Ages, so it necessarily reflected, and largely absorbed and monopolized, an important philosophical revolution contemporary with its period of gestation. It is one of the prime laws governing the changes of religions that, notwithstanding some exceptions, generally more apparent than real, religious belief can never long remain in contradiction to the prevalent science or philosophy. No man, or hardly any man, can continue to believe one thing with his head and a directly contradictory thing with his heart. Now the sixteenth century, still far from the modern conception of the uniformity of natural law, had yet arrived at an intellectual standpoint far

more monistic than that of the cruder earlier ages. Medieval Christianity was only nominally monotheistic; virtually, the saints had taken the place of the heathen pantheon. There was one of these supernal tutelary powers to watch over every locality, to heal every disease, to meet almost every eventuality of life. While the prayers of the vulgar to them were assiduous and accompanied with grossly material offerings, men of culture and even men of ordinary education found in this cult only matter for ridicule or scandal. In sweeping away the whole hierarchy of saints and angels, or at least their terrestrial powers, together with the worship of images and relics, the Reformation simply expressed the transition from a cruder to a more polished culture. It restored monotheism to Europe as primitive Christianity had once done; or, if we wish more scientific and accurate terms, it represented the change from polydynamism to monodynamism.[1] Gibbon,[2] a deist who rejected revealed religion, reckons it unto the Reformers for righteousness that they overthrew the lofty fabric of superstition and substituted for it a pure and simple worship more worthy of man and less unworthy of the Deity. But a modern historian might hesitate to give a judgment of value so absolute. Whatever the philosopher may say of fetishism, animism, polytheism, henotheism, monotheism, and atheism, to the historian they all represent simply religious phases bound to appear at some given point in human culture. The Reformation represented the shift from one of these phases to another. One might add, as a sort of scholium, that there is an instructive analogy between the deposition of the saints and the political movement from a feudal society to absolute monarchy resting on the support of the third estate. Men take their religious and philosophical imagery from the conditions in which they live. In the sixteenth century neither God nor king any longer needed

[1] Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, Band v, *Einleitung*.

[2] *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chap. lix.

vassals or intermediaries to come between him and his people.

7. Lastly, an ethical revolution found its perfect expression in the Reformation: the transition from the sacramental system of the Church to the Lutheran justification by faith only. The Roman Church teaches that salvation is dependent on grace imparted by certain rites known as sacraments. This grace is bestowed automatically (*ex opere operato*) on all who partake of the sacrament without actively opposing its operation. These sacraments—save baptism in exceptional circumstances—can be administered only by priests. To a believing age this made the sacerdotal order a privileged class, armed with the awful power of deciding the eternal future of their fellow men. It also made of the sacraments the mechanical means of winning definite ends: magical or supernatural rites. Every mass devoutly or indifferently attended by the living, every mass chanted for a soul in purgatory, accumulated just so much merit and so much remission of sin and penalty. With one immense, manly stroke Luther swept all this away, and neither the reactionary tendencies of his own later life nor those of his followers ever quite succeeded in reinstating either sacrament or priest in their former position. The importance of the reform lay not in the reduction of the number of the sacraments, but in their absolutely changed character. They no longer, as mere rites, had the slightest power to influence any man's salvation. Grace was given freely or not at all, wholly independently of any effort of man's will or even of man's deserts. By the same blow the hierarchy was destroyed. The priesthood no longer had anything to give or to withhold.

We are so much accustomed to think of dogma as the essence, or at least the criterion, of religion, that it is hard for us to do justice to the full significance of this change from

a sacramental, priestly religion to one of individual, unconditioned, unmediated responsibility. The researches of Durkheim, Frazer, and others, have shown that there is something deeper in religion than creed. The sacrament, the rite, the habit generally antedate the myth or belief in primitive society. The sacramental habit or attitude, common to Catholic Christianity and to many other religions, had persisted from the beginning of history, until Luther substituted its antithesis, the purely ethical religion of unconditioned salvation and disinterested morality. The transcendental philosophy and the categorical imperative lay implicit in the famous *sola fide*.

Wyclif and the Independence of the Church in England

By

William Alva Gifford

WYCLIF AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE CHURCH IN ENGLAND

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I WAS moved to investigate the subject of this study by an admiration of long standing for John Wyclif, and by the feeling that James Gairdner, the latest historian of Lollardy, had done scant justice to the religious movement that began with Wyclif, and that survived through a century and a half to lend powerful aid to Henry VIII, when the hour struck for the rejection of the Roman jurisdiction. When the work was finished, I found myself at a goal not far removed from that of Dr. Gairdner, although I had reached it with less reluctant feet. Dr. Gairdner had the spirit of the true archivist.[1] He had no aversion to dust; he could endure even dirt; but disorder, never. And Lollardy, in English society in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, was a source of disorder. I do not revolt at disorder when great changes are necessary. Unlike Dr. Gairdner, I can find great uses for the man who "refused to recant or bow to the opinion of trained judges," even though they "presumably understood such questions better than himself."[2] I cannot view the literature of Lollardy, admittedly crude, as "poisonous."[3] And I respectfully dissent from the view that an admission of the right of sects to exist is "fatal

[1] Indeed Dr. Gairdner described himself as "a mere retired archivist," whose work it was to "arrange matter for real historians to utilize." *Lollardy and the Reformation in England*, iii, p. ix.

[2] *Ibid.*, iii, p. xv. [3] *Ibid.*, iii, p. xxii.

to the essence of Christianity itself."[1] But I have found ever increasing reason to concur in the conclusion to which Dr. Gairdner's unrivalled knowledge led him, viz., that Lollardy survived through the troubled days of the fifteenth century to "help Henry VIII put down the Pope,"[2] that Henry's reformation of the Church was "precisely on Lollard lines,"[3] and that "Lollardy affected the Church more and more after his death."[4]

But, to turn to the hero of this story: it was Innocents' Day, 1384, and among those who were hearing mass in the parish church at Lutterworth, in the Diocese of Lincoln, was an aged priest of frail, emaciated frame.[5] Had it been possible, his own hands would that day have ministered to the waiting people; for he was parish priest of Lutterworth. But for two years the parish priest had suffered the effects of a paralytic stroke, and on that Innocents' Day he sat a silent participator in the sacred rite. Just at the moment of the elevation of the host he sustained another, this time a violent, stroke and sank down speechless. Friendly hands bore him to his rectory, and there two days later he died.[6]

It is impossible, within the limits of this essay, to set down in order the facts of Wyclif's life, or to note the intellectual inheritance that discloses itself in his writings. Easily discernible are the Augustinianism of Bradwardine, the Nominalism of Occam, the spiritual energy and moral uplift of Grossetête. But our task is rather, at the moment when Wyclif leaves the stage, to recall the principles that moved him, and, having done this, to follow the stream of his influence through the succeeding century and a half.

[1] *Ibid.*, iii, p. xii. [2] *Ibid.*, iii, p. viii. [3] *Ibid.*, ii, p. 478.
[4] *Ibid.*, iii, p. xxiii.
[5] Shirley, *Fasciculi Zizaniorum, R. S.*, Introd., pp. xlvff., gathers up the references to Wyclif's personal appearance, to be found in his own and other writings.
[6] The time and circumstances of Wyclif's death are fixed by Lechler, *John Wyclif and his English Precursors* (E. T. by Lorimer) ii, pp. 289 ff.

The years of Wyclif's reformatory work were the closing years of Edward III. The king's prowess, and that of his illustrious son, the Black Prince, had brought England to a position of pride and power. But with old age had come to Edward weakness, lust, dishonour. And with his failure had come to England humiliation and distress.[1] When the Black Prince succumbed at last to a lingering illness, there was no one to stay the flood of disasters. Pope Urban V, then at Avignon, seized the opportunity to demand the immense arrears that had accumulated since the unhappy John promised tribute a century before.

It was at this juncture that Wyclif raised his voice against submission, and undertook the reformation of religion in England.[2] To learn how pressing was the need of reform one requires only to read the poetry of Langland, Gower, and Chaucer.

For the needed reformation Wyclif trusted to a return to the Scriptures. The bases of the political philosophies of the Middle Ages were the Scriptures and Aristotle. The sources of religious truth were papal decrees, the conclusions of church councils, the opinions of the Fathers, as well as the Scriptures. But in the field of politics Aristotle was supplanting the Scriptures; and in the field of religion the authority of the Church was emphasized, while scholastic theologians attacked the authority of the Bible and held it up to scorn.[3] To Wyclif the Scriptures were the law of God, the only foundation of the true and Catholic faith, the sole authority for human life.[4] Not only so, Wyclif held, in opposition to Rome, that the Scriptures could be

[1] Shirley, *Fasc. Zizan.*, p. 263.

[2] Lewis, *Life of Wyclif.*, ed. 1878, i, p. 210.

[3] Buddensieg, *De Veritate Sacr. Script.*, Introd. p. xxi; i, pp. 116, 227, *et passim.* There are frequent intimations in the *De Veritate* that Wyclif, in his insistence on the authority of the Scriptures, is not simply reaffirming a forgotten principle; he is repelling an attack.

[4] *Ibid.*, i, pp. 2, 30, 52, *et passim.*

understood by the common people. This being so, the Scriptures must be given to the people and preached faithfully, even as Christ and His apostles taught the multitude. To preach the Bible was a holier task than to consecrate Christ's body.[1] Indeed, it was the task most worthy of every human being.[2]

To perform these two duties Wyclif, with the aid chiefly of his disciple, Nicholas of Hereford, translated the Scriptures into English;[3] and simultaneously he established an order of preachers. The first edition of the Scriptures was completed about 1382; and, from a mandate issued in the same year by the archbishop of Canterbury, we learn that a preaching itineracy was then in full swing.[4]

What manner of men these preachers were is disclosed in the mandate named. The archbishop complains that neither by pope nor by bishop have they been authorized to preach, that they wander from place to place barefoot and with staff in hand, that when denied access to the churches they preach in the churchyards, in the markets, on the moors. They are the Wesleyans of the fourteenth century. They preach the religion of the Bible, and the hearts of the people are with them. They are ordered to appear before the ecclesiastical courts, but they move on and continue their work elsewhere. And when legislation is sought for their suppression the Commons refuse their consent.

We cannot dwell on the Gospel Wyclif discovered and committed to his preachers, as he came afresh to the Scriptures. We must content ourselves with recalling so much of the Wyclifite deposit as remained, vigorous and influential, in the sixteenth century.

Four things notably persist. The first, as we have seen, is the principle of the sole authority of the Scriptures. The second is the principle of the direct dependence of the

[1] *Ibid.*, ii, p. 156.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii, p. 157.
[3] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, p. 350.
[4] Lechler, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 340–343.

individual soul on God. The Church, to Wyclif, was purely spiritual; and to it the official establishment that bore the name had no necessary relation. The visible Church could neither guarantee the salvation of the soul nor cut off the obedient soul from God.[1] The third principle is that the business of the priesthood is *ministerium*, not *dominium*. In this the pope is not different from all other priests. And neither he nor they have any ultimate authority over temporal possessions. Such authority belongs to the civil government.[2] The fourth persisting thing, of the Wyclifite deposit, is his rejection of the Roman doctrine of the mass. Wyclif denied transubstantiation as unscriptural, and cried out against the evils it encouraged. It bred idolatry; it led the people to worship the host as the body of Christ; and this taking as their God a piece of bread in the hands of the priest was no better than the fetish worship of the heathen.[3]

But foremost among these four principles is Wyclif's conviction of the sole authority of the Scriptures, and the related principle that the Scriptures, as the law of God, will speak intelligibly to those who seek that law. So thinking, it was inevitable that Wyclif should interpret for himself, and that out of the movement he started should emerge the spirit of individualism in religion.

This principle and this spirit, once established in England, never died out. The Scriptures in English were suppressed; writings of Wyclif left their native land to find refuge in distant Prague and Vienna; the leaders of Lollardy were silenced or slain. But in the darkest day the principle of the sole authority of the Scriptures and the spirit of individualism remained. A generation of men had seen that Rome

[1] *De Civili Dominio* (Wyclif Society, ed. 1884) i, chaps. xliii, xliv.

[2] *Ibid.*, i, chap. xxxxii; ii, p. 4. *Trialogus* (ed. Lechler, 1869) *Supplementum*, pp. 423 ff.

[3] *Trialogus*, iv, pp. 248, 262. *De Eucharistia* (Wyclif Society, ed. 1892) p. 13.

dealt treacherously with the law of God, and had begun each for himself to "search the Scriptures." In every generation until the Elizabethan settlement, some were true to the new ideal, many longed to be so, many resisted it as false, but all knew that such an ideal existed.

This meant that for the lay revolt, that was already growing in England in Wyclif's day,[1] there was gradually provided a new religious basis, which gave the movement permanence. Revolt was as spasmodic as it was frequent, until men became permanently persuaded that they were "competent in law," the law of God, to dissent from the dominant Church. It was a great contribution to the overthrow of Rome, that rebels against Rome steadily came to feel that they were not therefore cut off from religion. "Lollardy offered a new religious basis to all."[2]

Wyclif had not yet passed away when an ecclesiastical council of the province of Canterbury condemned his opinions, and Parliament commanded the king's officers and sheriff to arrest the unlicensed preachers, who were teaching everywhere "to the great emblemishing of the Christian faith, and destruction of the laws and estate of Holy Church, to the great peril of the souls of the people and of all the realm."[3] The authorities struck first at Oxford, the centre of the movement. Letters condemnatory of Wyclif were read in its schools; the chancellor was rebuked as a supporter of heresy; and the university, threatened with the loss of all the privileges it held from the crown, submitted. More than once Lollardy raised its head, but each time only to be crushed. Finally, a censorship was imposed upon all

[1] As reflected in Langland, Chaucer, Gower, the rebels of 1381, those in Parliament who demanded the confiscation of church property, those who rioted against monasteries, etc.

[2] G. M. Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wyclif*, p. 352.

[3] *Fasc. Zizan.*, pp. 272–291 (Gee and Hardy, No. xxxvii). *Cf. Rotuli Parliamentarii*, iii, pp. 124–5.

the publications of the university, and its literary activity was stifled for several generations.[1] Lollardy throughout the country, however, was more tenacious of life. The heretics who were driven from Oxford became missionaries to the shires; and before Wyclif's death there were three well recognized centres of Lollard influence: London, Leicester and the western counties.

The fourteenth century and the reign of Richard II closed together, the foolish and passionate king being violently supplanted by Henry IV and the House of Lancaster. The succeeding century was violent, bloody, obscure. The turbulent reign of Henry IV (1399–1413) was followed by the brief glory of Henry V, the ideal hero of chivalry (1413–1422). Then came the long, long reign of Henry VI (1422–1471), darkened by feebleness, folly and madness, and closing with twenty years of shameless betrayals, brutal executions, savage battles—in a word, with the Wars of the Roses. The century was almost over, when (1485) the brief and bloody reign of Richard III closed on Bosworth Field, and settled order came again with Henry VII. It was the darkest century in England's history.

Through such a century Lollardy had to make its way and perform its ministry for England, and it is no easy matter to appraise Wyclif's influence through these dark disordered days. But even amidst the débris of the French Wars and the Wars of the Roses some well-defined landmarks of Lollardy rise, and of a few of these we shall take note.

During the early years of the century measures were taken successively against the Lollards, their priests, and their knightly protectors—measures the more easily secured because the royal power needed the support of the Church. In 1401 Parliament, responding to an appeal of the Convocation of Canterbury, passed the famous statue *De Hære-*

[1] *Fasc. Zizan.*, pp. 304–311.

tico Comburendo, which placed the municipal and county authorities at the disposal of the Church for the punishment of heretics.[1] That year William Sawtrey, the first of a long succession of martyrs, was burned at Smithfield for teaching concerning the Supper of the Lord, that "after the consecration by the priest, there remaineth true material bread."[2] In 1407 a synod of the province of Canterbury struck at the priests of Lollardy. The so-called Constitutions of Archbishop Arundel decreed that no one should preach without episcopal license, that only specified subjects might be dealt with, that the writings of Wyclif might be read only under supervision, that no one should translate the Scriptures, or read the translations of Wyclif, without special permission, and that public discussions were to be avoided.[3] In 1413 the Convocation of Canterbury petitioned the archbishop to put these laws into effect against the knightly followers of Lollardy. "It is almost impossible," the petition reads, "to repair the rent of the seamless garment of our Lord, until certain great men of the kingdom, who are authors, favourers, defenders and receivers of these heretics, are severely reproved."[4] Proceedings were taken immediately against Sir John Oldcastle. The ill-fated Lollard rebellion followed, and Oldcastle was hanged and burned at St. Giles, as were thirty-eight other leaders of the movement.[5]

This fruitless appeal to force cost Lollardy the sympathy of the nobility, and, to quote a rhymster of the day, "turned to confusion the sorry sect of Lollardy."[6] With the defection of knighthood disappeared the hope of political action for religious liberty. This defection would doubtless have come gradually, had no rebellion occurred; for the character

[1] *Rotuli Parliamentarii*, iii, pp. 473–4 (Gee and Hardy, No. xlii).

[2] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, pp. 254–260.

[3] *Ibid.*, iii, pp. 314–319.

[4] *Ibid.*, iii, pp. 352–3.

[5] Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ii, pp. 297–9. *Henrici Quinta Gesta* (ed. Williams), p. 4.

[6] Wright, *Political Songs and Poems*, ii, p. 247.

of the Lollard preachers was changing. Wyclif had been the pride of Oxford; his first preachers were trained theologians. But it was now impossible for one of Lollard sympathies to gain admission to the schools, and the literature of Lollardy was being diligently sought out and destroyed. As the Lollard preachers diminished in education and social standing, they became less welcome at the firesides of the great. And as the fifteenth century advanced, the new religion became a religion for the lower classes.

Robbed of its leaders, the movement nevertheless continued to grow, although the Church strove through ten years of persecution to destroy it. When at the end of that time the Convocation of Canterbury met, it was to "counteract the malice of the heretics," which was still increasing throughout the province.[1] No part of the country seemed free from the infection. The Diocese of Bath and Wells was more than ordinarily afflicted. A mandate of 1431, issued by Bishop Stafford, complains that a "scandalous book of Lollardy" is in circulation, and threatens with excommunication anyone who shall translate the Bible, or make a copy of such translation.[2] Yet twenty years later, at the middle of the century, Bishop Beckington complained to the Duke of Somerset that his tenants administered the sacrament for themselves and buried their own dead, that they had expelled their priests, were refusing to do penance, and had beaten the king's officers.[3]

In the neighboring Diocese of Worcester, as the century advances, the registers of the bishops say but little of Lollardy. And it would be an easy inference that an earlier wave of Lollardy there had subsided. The truth is quite otherwise. In bishops Polton, Carpenter and Alcock, whose long episcopates lasted from 1425 to 1486, the Diocese had a

[1] Wilkins, as cited, iii, pp. 494–6.
[2] William Hunt, *Bath and Wells, Diocesan Histories*, p. 140.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 145–6.

succession of exceptionally wise and earnest men, who not only struggled with the evils of the Church, but dealt liberally with men who sought relief in dissent. Many earnest laymen, recoiling from the ignorance and indolence of their priests, were permitted to worship in their homes; and roving commissions were granted to suitable men for the preaching of the Word.[1] By such liberality, as wise as it was rare, Lollardy in the diocese of Worcester was kept from open rebellion, and does not therefore appear frequently in the records of the bishops' courts.

The Lollardy of East England, however, is better known than that of the West. For a generation after Wyclif's death Norwich had remained in appearance the most Catholic diocese of England, doubtless because of the watchfulness and vigour of Spencer, the "fighting bishop of Norwich." Of him a monastic chronicler says: "Be his name for ever blessed. He swore an oath and never regretted it, that if any of the perverse sect of Lollardy should presume to preach in his Diocese he should be given to the fire or lose his head."[2] Yet soon after the doughty bishop died, a Lollard settlement established itself in the valley of the Waveney between Norfolk and Suffolk, Lollard schools were formed, and the whole district broke with Rome.[3] Bishop Alnewick summoned more than one hundred and twenty persons to court, and several suffered martyrdom.[4] Lollardy was silenced, and for the rest of the century there were no more prosecutions in the bishops' courts, in so far as we can learn from existing records. But Lollardy even here was not destroyed. The burnings began again in the early sixteenth century, and for the same opinions.

In Wyclif's own Diocese of Lincoln the new opinions had

[1] Smith and Onslow, *Worcester, Dioc. Hist.*, pp. 110, 143–4.
[2] Walsingham, quoted in Jessop, *Norwich, Dioc. Hist.*, p. 137.
[3] Jessop, *Ibid.*, p. 146.
[4] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (ed. Catley), iii, pp. 585–599.

spread everywhere within his generation. Walsingham complains bitterly of the failure of the bishops to suppress them.[1] A further generation of persecution failed to stay the movement. At last Bishop Flemyng, conceiving the original idea of meeting heresy with education, founded Lincoln College at Oxford in 1427. In his introduction to the Statutes of the College one may still read:

> The lips of Christian people, who formerly had not known to utter anything but the Catholic faith of Christ, now babble forth heresies and errors, and the barkings of pestiferous opinion. . . . I, Richard Flemyng, considering that in these last days the sects of the heretics are growing more than is wont, and especially with a view to their destruction and extermination, have determined to erect and endow a certain College of theologians in the University of Oxford . . . to be called Lincoln College.[2]

Lincoln College failed to silence the barkings of pestiferous opinion in the Diocese of Lincoln. Bishop Russell, dying in 1495, when the Protestant Reformation was not far off, was, to repeat his words, to be "fatigued and vexed" at Oxford by many heretics, who still adhered to the "insane opinions" of John Wyclif, whose opinions, also, had "infected many of the people in our Anglican Church."[3]

With this brief indication of the strength of early Lollardy we must pass over most of the fifteenth century, pausing only long enough to glance at a document, written at the middle of the century and giving us an impressionistic view of the strength of Lollardy after two generations. In 1449 Reginald Pecock, Bishop of Chichester published his *Repressor of Over Much Blamyng of the Clergy*. In the *Repressor* Pecock addresses what he calls "Bible men," who, he says, form a numerous body of "the lay party," and who "blame openly

[1] Walsingham, quoted in Venables and Perry, *Lincoln, Dioc. Hist.*, p. 173.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 181. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 181.

and sharply, both in speech and in writing, the clergy of God's Holy Church, thereby causing much indignation, disturbance and schism and other evils to rise and be continued in many persons by long time for many years."[1] We may not linger over the *Repressor*. The fact of immediate interest is that the "Bible men," whom Pecock everywhere recognises as Lollards, have become so numerous that he sometimes speaks of them simply as "the lay party," and so bold that they have become "ouer mych wyters of the clergie," and that the "three trowings or opinions" which "have been the causes and grounds of many and of well nigh all the errors which many of the lay party hold" are of unmistakable Wyclifite parentage.[2]

On the 22nd of August, 1485, Richard III and Henry Tudor met in battle at Bosworth. There Richard fell, and on the field the conqueror was acclaimed as Henry VII. Four years were spent in restoring order. Then Henry and Archbishop Morton set themselves to reform the morals of the Church, which in some of the monasteries had become unspeakably low.[3] They next attacked heresy throughout the kingdom, a task for which the time seemed opportune. Henry was genuinely devoted to the Roman Church and papacy; and the people were little disposed to interfere with the administration of a king who seemed their only security against the disorder from which England had emerged but yesterday. Assured thus of the royal support, the Church girded itself for its final struggle for unity.

Strong action was necessary, if Rome was to maintain her position in England. From the most diverse sources we learn that, apart from Morton's earnest efforts, a serious movement for the reformation of religion was already gathering strength in Henry's earlier years, and that this movement was a revival of Wyclifism. We have already

[1] Pecock, *Repressor* (ed. Babington), pp. 2–3.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 5–7.
[3] Wilkins, *op. cit.*, iii, pp. 619, 630–632.

seen that in 1491 John Russell, Bishop of Lincoln, found himself "fatigued and vexed at Oxford by many heretics," and that these were "the Wyclifists, whose insane opinions have already infected many of the people in our Anglican Church."[1] Foxe also discloses, in different temper, how "the host of Christ's Church began to muster and to multiply here in England, as by these histories here consequent may appear."[2]

Within a few years hundreds were summoned before the ecclesiastical courts, a few died for their faith, hundreds recanted and thenceforth went about the kingdom branded or bearing faggots. Two illustrations will suffice to indicate the Wyclifite character of the heresies charged. It is recorded of Joan Boughton, a widow of fourscore years who was burned at Smithfield, that she was "a disciple of Wyclif, whom she accounted for a saint, and held so fast and firmly eight or ten opinions that all the doctors of London could not turn her from one of them." Richard Hun died for having "private English books prohibited and damned by law, as the Apocalypse in English, epistles and gospels in English, Wyclif's damnable works."[3]

The records of the spiritual courts disclose that just such changes had taken place in Lollardy as we should expect after more than a century of persecution. Lollard teachers had been banished from the universities; Lollard textbooks had been burned; Lollard schools had been broken up; and the ability to read had been held a crime.[4] When the fifteenth century closed, the Lollards were an unlearned body, without literature except the Bible and Wyclif's *Wicket*.[5] There was no reasoned theory of Church and state, no system

[1] Venables and Perry, as cited, pp. 199–200.
[2] Foxe, *op. cit.*, iv, p. 7.
[3] *Ibid.*, iv, pp. 7, 184. *Cf.* iv, pp. 123, 126, 225, 226, *et passim.*
[4] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 585. *Rot. Parl.*, iii, p. 466.
[5] Foxe, iv, pp. 176, 184, 207, 223.

of theology. Wyclif's appeal to the Scriptures remained, and his rejection of the dogma of transubstantiation. But the interpretation of the former had become indeed that of "simple men," and the rejection of the latter was on the ground of common sense. Other things, that Wyclif could have regulated, the later Lollards rejected. After generations of struggle with the pitiless organization of Catholicism, they had come to scorn the rites in which it made religion to consist.

While at the close of the century religious dissent in England was thus battling for the right to live, it was beginning to feel the impetus of a great, new movement from the Continent. The Renaissance had come. Art, science and literature had sprung into new life together. And to the cities of Italy, especially to the court of Lorenzo de Medici, students thronged from all the nations of Europe. Among the first in England to answer the call of Italian humanism was John Colet; but unlike the rest, he was moved by a religious passion, and bent on reviving in England a worthy preaching of the Word of God. The days of Colet's sojourn in Italy were the scandalous days of Alexander VI; but happily they were also the best days of Savonarola, and Colet came under the spell of the great prior of San Marco.

Returning to England, probably in 1496, sensitive to the Church's ills, and intent on reviving the preaching of the Gospel as a means to reform, Colet lectured at Oxford from the Epistles of Paul.[1]

His class room was thronged. He did not use the Bible as an "arsenal of texts" for the defense of the doctrines of the Church. He used it as the record of men whose words were spirit and life. "You are trying to bring back the Christianity of the Apostles," wrote Erasmus, "you will find the task a hard one, but you will succeed, and will not regard

[1] Erasmus, quoted in Lupton, *Life of Dean Colet*, p. 9.

the clamour of fools. You will not stand alone. The crowded rooms where you have been lecturing will have shown you how many are on your side."[1] Colet did not long stand alone. Soon Erasmus also was at Oxford; and Colet, Erasmus and More were leading an influential critical movement within Catholicism.

Affinities would not at first be discerned between the now illiterate Lollards and these cultured humanists. As yet Colet, Erasmus, and More were not doctrinal reformers; and all felt themselves to be loyal to the Catholic system. But Erasmus was one with Wyclif in his desire to popularise the Scriptures.[2] His plea for a spiritual papacy was not greatly different in effect from Wyclif's rejection of the institution itself.[3] What Erasmus felt also about relics, Lollardy had long felt; though it expressed itself less gracefully.[4] The Lollards may not have known More's satires on the monks,[5] or Erasmus' denunciations.[6] But they had long been doing among the masses what the men of the New Learning were now doing in the houses and gardens of the great. Together they were laying the foundations of a new order, that within a few years would require only the co-operation of royalty to bring it in. And the Lollards soon detected this affinity. When Colet became dean of St. Paul's, and the most famous preacher in England, the Lollards thronged to hear him, recognizing in his message the gospel they had been waiting for so long, though they were doubtless unaware that he was a student of Wyclif and other heretical writers.[7] It became a charge against the Lollards in the spiritual courts that they were coming up to

[1] Froude, *Life and Letters of Erasmus*, p. 48.
[2] *Instrumentum* (ed. 1516), *Paraclesis*, leaf aaa 3 to bbb.
[3] *Ibid.*, note on Matt. xxiv, 23.
[4] *Ibid.*, note on Matt. xxiii, 27.
[5] Cayley, *Life of Sir Thos. More*, i, p. 270.
[6] *Epistolæ Erasmi*, CCCCXLII, second series, abridged.
[7] Ogygius, *Peregrinatio religionis ergo*. Quoted in Lupton, *op. cit.*, p. 201

London from great distances to hear Master Colet, and that they were encouraging others to do so.[1]

In 1509 Henry VIII succeeded to his father's crown, and the new reign could hardly have opened more auspiciously. Henry possessed just those qualities that Englishmen are most disposed to admire.[2] England remembered, too, the feeble Lancastrian rule, the thirty years of bloodshed, the fifteen years of conspiracy; and was little disposed to fear royal autocracy. The passionate loyalty of his people is echoed, not only in Shakespeare, but in all the abundant literature of Henry's early reign. To Englishmen, in the early sixteenth century, the king seemed the saviour of the nation.[3]

But not for years, and then only incidentally, was Lollardy to enjoy any privileges as the result of the disposition of Englishmen to leave government in the hands of the king. Henry was a devout Roman Catholic,[4] and the persecution of heretics continued as in the previous reign. In 1511 Henry's Latin secretary, Ammonius, wrote from London to Erasmus: "That the price of faggots is gone up I do not wonder; a number of heretics furnish a holocaust every day, and the crop is still growing."[5] In that year there was a convocation of the Province of Canterbury for the extirpation of heresy[6]; and in 1512 a commission was issued to the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and others, to enquire into rebellions and heresy in Hereford, Gloucester, Worcester, Chester, South Wales, and elsewhere.[7]

The registers of the persecuting bishops attest both the strength of the heretical movement and its identity with Wyclifism. Foxe records, after examination of the bishops'

[1] Foxe, *op. cit.* iv, pp. 230, 246; v, p. 217.
[2] *Letters and Papers*, II, i, pp. 395, 409–10.
[3] F. M. Nichols, *Epistles of Erasmus*, i, p. 457. *Cf. ibid.*, ii, p. 14.
[4] F. M. Nichols, as cited, ii, p. 185. *Letters and Papers*, i, pp. 4417, 4955.
[5] *Ibid.*, ii, p. 40.
[6] *L. and P.*, i, p. 4312. [7] *Ibid.*, i, p. 3289.

registers, no charge of Lutheranism before 1522; although he names, from among the earlier dissenters, eleven martyrs and an "incredible multitude" that abjured.[1] The register of Fitzjames, bishop of London, shows six martyrs and scores who abjured[2]; that of Smith, bishop of Lincoln, discloses that there were in his diocese Lollard congregations of long standing, and that itinerant preachers were at work as in the olden days.[3] One martyr, Thomas Man, had travelled widely in all England, and estimated that he had converted seven hundred.[4] In his travels he had found many congregations holding fast to his opinions. One at Newbury, in Berkshire, had held together for fifteen years, until betrayed, when several were burned and scores recanted. At Amersham, in Buckinghamshire, Man found a "godly and great company which had continued in that doctrine twenty-three years." It had some form of ordination, and awarded academic titles to its leading teachers.[5] In Suffolk and Norfolk, where strong Lollard communities had existed in the valley of the Waveney a century before, there were still communities strong enough to give shelter to hunted believers from other shires.[6] And how many and how strong were the congregations elsewhere we cannot now determine. The registers are often incomplete; and many are lost. Some bishops had little wish to persecute. Some, like Russell of Lincoln, lost confidence in the effectiveness of persecution, or sickened at its shame.[7] Some, like Carpenter of Worcester, granted privileges of private worship and Bible study, and so avoided open schism.

While the Church was thus keeping up her long, long fight with the disciples of Wyclif, the men of the New Learning continued under Henry VIII their struggle for reform

[1] Foxe, as cited, iv, pp. 179, 219.
[2] *Ibid.*, iv, pp. 214, 218.
[3] *Ibid.*, iv, p. 214.
[4] *Ibid.*, in *loc. cit.*
[5] *Ibid.*, iv, pp. 213–218.
[6] *Ibid.*, iv, p. 214.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 219.

within Catholicism. No hoary view was safe from the pointed shafts of Colet, Erasmus, More, and others. Colet, from the pulpit of St. Paul's, was denouncing the evil lives of priests and preaching the Gospel to Lollards almost within sight of the fires of Smithfield, while in his correspondence he was speaking ironically of the religious orders.[1] Erasmus was questioning the principle of monasticism,[2] laughing at pilgrimages,[3] deriding the older theologians. "They call themselves 'the Religious and Monks,' yet most of them have no religion at all. They call it a sign of holiness to be unable to read. They bray out the Psalms in the churches like so many jackasses."[4] More was writing satirical verse about the monks, and questioning the "dismal lies" inserted as "an act of piety" in the lives of martyrs and saints.[5] Thus, while these English humanists were in no sense leaders as yet in a mass movement, they were uttering many sentiments from the pulpit, in the universities, about the tables of the great, that tended to break the already loosening hold of the Church upon the English mind. They looked for reform from within the Church, and the preservation of its unity. Some indeed, like More and Fisher, were to die to preserve that unity. But others, like Cranmer and Latimer, were to become the prophets of the new order, and to die at the hands of the old.

Not long after 1517 and the posting of the Ninety-Five Theses, heresy in England felt the impetus of the Lutheran movement. Among the Bible students at Cambridge, who had already been praying for the reformation of religion in England, were William Tyndale, Bilney and Barnes, Cranmer and Latimer.[6] Hardly had Luther begun his work,

[1] Seebohm, *Oxford Reformers* (ed. 1869), p. 76. Nichols, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 25.
[2] Nichols, ii, p. 37. [3] *Ibid.*, ii, p. 67.
[4] *Ibid.*, ii, p. 37. [5] *Ibid.*, i, p. 404.
[6] J. B. Mullinger, *History of the Univ. of Camb.*, pp. 80–83.

when these Bible students were meeting for the discussion of his earlier treatises; and from Cambridge his writings were carried to Oxford in 1521.[1] The public influence of Lutheranism in England dates from that year; and here also ends the history of Lollardy as such. After 1521 the name of Wyclif disappears suddenly and almost entirely from the bishops' registers; and the errors charged in the ecclesiastical courts are described as Lutheran, not as Wyclifite, or Lollard. It would be an easy inference that Lollardy was therefore declining, but the fact is far otherwise. At the moment when Lutheran writings were discovered at Oxford, a concerted and vehement attack had already begun upon dissent throughout the country. In 1521 Longland, bishop of Lincoln, arrested nearly five hundred Lollards[2]; and Foxe expressly states that "this was before the name of Luther was heard of in these countries among the people."[3] The fact is that there was little essential difference between Lutheranism and Lollardy.[4] And Lollardy supplied from its ranks a great host of recruits for the coming Protestantism, while Lutheranism provided again, for a great army of simple people, educated leaders, of whom persecution had deprived them. As Tunstall, bishop of London, wrote in 1523, concerning Lutheranism in England: "It is no question of some pernicious novelty; it is only that new arms are being added to the great band of Wyclifite heretics."[5]

[1] *Letters and Papers*, iii, pp. 1197, 1210.

[2] Foxe, as cited, iv, pp. 241–45. [3] *Ibid.*, iv, p. 217.

[4] Luther declared, when first he became acquainted with the works of Huss, that he had always been a Hussite, and the Hussite movement has long been recognized as a revival of Wyclifism. See Lechler, *op. cit.*, pp. 2–3; also Loserth, *Wyclif and Huss*, ii, pp. 181–280. In 1523 the Theological Faculty of the University of Paris decided that the *Doctrinale* of Thos. Netter of Walden, written to refute Wyclif, ought to be published, "because the same is of great use for the refutation of the destructive Lutheran heresies" (Loserth, *op. cit.*, ii, 3, 4).

[5] Erasmus' and Melanchthon's Letters (ed. 1642), p. 1159. *Cf.* H. E. Jacobs, *Lutheranism in England* (ed. 1916), pp. I ff.

But Lollardy did much more than provide from its ranks recruits for the approaching Reformation. It loosened the hold of the Church on many who were not Lollards. Very many must have been in nominal allegiance to Catholicism over whom it had lost its power. They were not eager for change, but when change threatened they would not make good defenders of the old order. Many thousands of Englishmen heard without dismay the opinions of Luther and Melanchthon, Cranmer and Latimer, because these opinions had been common talk in England for a century and a half. Any existing tendencies to change must have been quickened also by the spectacle of a century and a half of persecution. Englishmen knew, what the records of the spiritual courts make abundantly clear, that virtually the sole offence of the Lollards was their religious convictions. Good men could not love the sight of firebrands thrown into the face of the dying, and children compelled to set fire to their father, in the name of religion.[1] Indeed, there is evidence of widespread sympathy with those who were persecuted. The execution of a heretic in London in 1515 caused a great outcry.[2] In the country noblemen sometimes tore from the clothing of their Lollard servants the faggots and other symbols of penance.[3] Bishops and their officers had to defend themselves against popular charges of cruelty.[4] At the burning of Bilney the friars besought him to clear them of the charge of having caused his death, lest the people withold their alms.[5]

But in addition, as we have indicated, a lay revolt against Rome had long been gathering strength. In the fourteenth century Gower, Langland and Chaucer were already satirizing the Church, Parliament was demanding the confiscation of Church property, mobs broke in upon the deliberations of

[1] Foxe, iv, 102, 245, 704, *et passim.*
[2] *Letters and Papers*, ii, I, p. 215.
[3] Foxe, iv, p. 216.
[4] *Ibid.*, iv, p. 558.
[5] *Ibid.*, iv, p. 655.

the spiritual courts.[1] By the middle of the fifteenth century Bishop Pecock found a widespread hostility of "the lay party" to the Church. In 1512 James IV of Scotland complained that the English seized Scottish merchants, calling them in derision "the Pope's men."[2] In 1515 Fitzjames, bishop of London, complained that any jury in London would condemn a clerk, though he were innocent as Abel.[3] In the same year a clerk of Convocation appended to the minutes of Convocation this note: "In this Convocation and Parliament the most perilous dissensions arose between the ecclesiastical and secular power concerning ecclesiastical liberties."[4] In 1528 Campeggio wrote that only the vigilance of Wolsey preserved to the Holy See its dignity and power.[5] If Wolsey fell, nothing could avert a breach with Rome, except the king's support. So far had the lay revolt gone. This revolt cannot be regarded as an outcome of Lollardy. It is Wyclif's distinction, rather, that for it he provided a religious basis without which it could not have continued. Through Lollardy Englishmen came to feel that they could break with Rome without being thereby shut off from salvation.

To summarise in a word the conclusions of this study—four forces worked together for the separation of the Church in England from Rome. The first was the corruption of the Church, at which all good men blushed, and the subordination of papal policy to foreign politics, at which all Englishmen chafed. The second was the increasing present-worldliness that accompanied the rapid commercial development of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. We have not set forth this phase of the situation, but one cannot run through

[1] Shirley, *Fasc. Zizan.*, Introd., xxi.
[2] *Letters and Papers*, i, p. 3320.
[3] *Ibid.*, ii, I, p. 2.
[4] *Ibid.*, ii, I, p. 1312.
[5] *Ibid.*, iv, II, p. 4481; iv, II, pp. 5862, 6019.

the literature of the period and be unaware of it. The third was humanism, disclosing at least to the learned that medieval Christianity was defective in ideal as well as in action. Finally, there were Lollard opinions, exalting the Scriptures, providing a new religious basis for the growing lay revolt. Lollard views of the Scriptures accustomed Englishmen to the thought of a religion that knew nothing of popes and cardinals, monks and nuns, and that nevertheless was Christian.

Such were the causes of the English revolt from Rome. It remains to recall, in a word, the occasion of it. The occasion was the determination of Henry VIII that his marriage with Catherine of Aragon should be annulled. Henry was well aware that many a precedent could be quoted to justify Clement VII in granting him a divorce,[1] and as months passed, and the divorce was not granted, Henry discerned that the case was being determined not on principle but in accordance with the political interests of the pope. Clement could not summon courage to unmarry Catherine while he himself was in the power of her nephew, Charles V. Henry was too vain, too proud, too passionate, to endure that his desires should await the pleasure of his rival, Charles V. And England was even less disposed than he. For Henry was, and remained until death, a Catholic at heart, but England was ceasing to be Catholic. And, while Englishmen never approved the king's treatment of Catherine,[2] nor opened their hearts to the woman who supplanted her, they were united in the resolve that English suits in the papal court should not be determined by the anxiety of the pope concerning his personal safety or his temporal possessions, and that the royal dignity should not be diminished by any outside power whatsoever.[3] Henry had the Tudor

[1] *Letters and Papers*, iv, pp. 4130, 4131, 5859.
[2] *Ibid.*, v, p. 171; *Spanish Calendar*, iii, II, p. 277.
[3] *Letters and Papers*, iv, III, p. 5797.

perception of what Englishmen would stand; and, when at last he became persuaded that he could not obtain from the pope what he desired, he appealed to Parliament.

Nothing could be farther from the truth than the idea that Henry forced schism upon an unwilling Parliament and nation. Parliament, under the Tudors, never became the mere register of the royal will. More than once Henry was unable to secure from Parliament things very dear to his heart.[1] In 1515 Convocation petitioned for the freedom of speech enjoyed by Parliament.[2] It was Henry, indeed, who first set forth the constitutional principle that sovereignty is vested in the king in Parliament.[3] When, therefore Parliament forbade appeals to Rome, cut off all gifts of England to the Holy See, and declared the king to be Head of the Church in England, it did so because the will of the king was in harmony with its own. And when the people, except in the North, quietly acquiesced, it was because they had become alienated from Rome.

Henry was well aware of this alienation. And the honor of having prepared the masses for religious independence, and measurably for the later Protestantism, belongs to Wyclif, whose principles in the fourteenth century were essentially the Protestant principles of the sixteenth. If England had been ready to rise at the call of Wyclif, the Protestant Reformation might have come a century and a half before it did, and the honour of having introduced the new order would have belonged to England.

[1] *Ibid.*, v, p. 805; vii, p. 51.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii, p. 1314. *Cf.* Foxe, *op. cit.*, vi, pp. 33, 43.
[3] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, iii, p. 956.

Letters of Saint Boniface to the Popes and Others
First English Translation

By

George Washington Robinson

PREFATORY NOTE

EDWARD KYLIE, a young Canadian scholar of singular charm and promise, whose untimely death in the second year of the World War was mourned by a host of friends and admirers, published in 1911 a translation of *The English Correspondence of Saint Boniface*, a volume which, as respects smoothness of translation and sympathetic interpretation, is very nearly a model of what such a work should be. The present work, leaving Professor Kylie's field untouched, completes the translation of the letters of Boniface by giving in English version his surviving letters to Continental correspondents, chiefly at the papal and Frankish courts: documents of the highest importance for the history of the time, though naturally less marked by intimate personal touches than the letters to beloved friends and confidants of his own race. For the saint's life, with introduction and bibliographic material, the reader is referred to *The Life of Saint Boniface*, by Willibald, translated by the writer and issued in 1916 in the series *Harvard Translations*. The modest scope of the present publication makes elaborate annotation inappropriate; but no pains have been spared in the effort to provide a clear and accurate translation. The text followed has been Ernst Dümmler's in *S. Bonifatii et Lulli Epistolæ* (1892).

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LETTERS OF SAINT BONIFACE TO THE POPES AND OTHERS

FIRST ENGLISH TRANSLATION

BY GEORGE WASHINGTON ROBINSON, SECRETARY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

I

To the Monks of Fritzlar

Written after the death of Abbot Wigbert I. Date ca. 735-737.

TO our dearly beloved sons, Tatwine and Wigbert, priests, Bernard and Hiedda, Hunfrid and Sturmi, Boniface, servant of the servants of God, eternal salvation in the Lord.

With paternal love, I entreat of your affection that the death of our father Wigbert make you guard more zealously the pattern of the monastic life. Let Wigbert as priest and Megingoz[1] as deacon publish your rule unto you, and guard the hours of devotion and the routine of the church, and admonish the others, and be teachers of the children, and preach the word of God unto the brethren. Let Hiedda be prior and admonish your servants; and let Hunfrid assist him whenever there is need. Let Sturmi[2] be in the kitchen. Let Bernard be master workman, and build our cells when there is need. And ask Abbot Tatwine of all matters, when-

[1] Later bishop of Würzburg. *Life of Saint Boniface*, translated by the writer (1916), pp. 17, 23.

[2] Later abbot of Fulda. *Life*, p. 11.

ever ye must, and do whatever he bids. And let every one seek, according to his strength, to keep himself pure, and in your common life to help others, and to abide in brotherly love, until I return to you, if God so will. And then together we will praise the Lord and return thanks to him in all things. Farewell in Christ.

II

To his Followers in Germany

Written during his third visit to Rome. Date ca. 737-738.

To our dearly beloved sons, Geppa and Eoba,[1] Tatwine and Wigbert, and all our brethren and sisters, Boniface, servant of the servants of God, salvation of pure love in Christ.

Know, beloved, and thank God, that when we came prosperously to the threshold of Saint Peter, chief of the apostles, the apostolic bishop[2] received us with joy and gladness, and made favorable reply concerning our embassy, and gave counsel and command that we should return again to you and persevere in the established work. But now we here await the priests' council or synodical meeting, nor know we yet when the apostolic bishop may cause it to be held. But when that is over, if God will and we live, we shall hasten to your presence. Knowing this, await us with brotherly love and unity of faith, bearing one another's burdens[3]; and thus ye shall fulfil the law of Christ, and shall renew your joy.

Farewell in Christ. Pray for us.

[1] *Life*, p. 81.
[2] Gregory III, Pope 731–741. *Life*, p. 69.
[3] Galatians, vi, 2.

III

To Gripo, Son of Charles Martel

Written probably shortly after the death of Charles Martel. Date then near the end of 741.

Boniface, servant of the servants of God, to Gripo, son of Charles, desirable salvation in Christ.

I beseech and adjure your piety, by God the father almighty and by Jesus Christ his son and by the Holy Ghost, by the holy trinity and unity of God, that, if God shall give thee power, thou be zealous to aid the servants of God, the priests and elders who are in Thuringia, and to defend the monks and the handmaids of Christ against the malice of the pagans, and to aid the Christian folk that the pagans destroy them not: that before the judgment seat of Christ thou mayest have reward everlasting. And know that your memory is with us before God, even as your father, when living, and your mother aforetime intrusted to me. We implore God, the Saviour of the world, that he direct your way and life unto the salvation of your soul, that ye may abide ever in the grace of God, here and in the life to come. Meanwhile remember, dear son, that, in the words of the psalmist, "As for man, his days are as grass: as a flower of the field, so he flourisheth."[1] And the apostle saith, "The whole world lieth in wickedness."[2] And also in the gospel the Truth[3] said, "For what shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"[4]; and yet again in the gospel, of the glory of the righteous, "Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father."[5] And Paul the apostle, of the blessedness of eternal life, "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the

[1] Psalms, ciii, 15. [2] I John, v, 19. [3] John, xiv, 6.
[4] Mark, viii, 36. [5] Matthew, xiii, 43.

heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him."[1] Act therefore, son, that the recompense of your reward may brighten and increase in the lofty height of Heaven.

We wish you good health and length of days in Christ.

IV

To Pope Zacharias

Congratulates Zacharias upon his election. Date early in 742.

To our dear lord Zacharias,[2] man apostolic, possessed of the fillet of the highest priesthood, Boniface, servant of the servants of God.

We acknowledge, lord and father, that since we heard from the report of messengers that Gregory of venerable memory, bishop of the apostolic see, predecessor of your apostolate, was freed from the prison of the body and had departed to the Lord, no tidings have brought us greater gladness and greater joy than that the most high Judge hath granted you, merciful father, to guide the canon laws and to pilot the helm of the apostolic see; and with hands upraised to Heaven we have returned thanks to God. Therefore, we earnestly beseech you with heartfelt prayers, as if kneeling at your feet, that even as for Saint Peter's sake we were devoted servants and subject disciples of your predecessors, so may we merit to become obedient servants of your piety, subject under the canon law, desiring to preserve the Catholic faith and the unity of the Roman church. And how many soever hearers or disciples God hath given me in that embassy, I cease not to invite and incline them to the obedience of the apostolic see.

We must also tell you, father, that inasmuch as by the

[1] I Corinthians, ii, 9. [2] Pope, 741–752.

grace of God the peoples of Germany have been somewhat moved or amended, we have ordained three bishops and divided the province into three dioceses. And we prayerfully desire that those three towns or cities in which they have been established or ordained be confirmed by writings of your authority. We have decreed one bishop's see in the fortified town called Wirzaburg,[1] another in the town named Buraburg, a third in the place called Erphesfurt,[2] formerly a city of the pagan peasants. We urge that ye ratify and confirm these three places by your own instrument, by the authority of your apostolate: that if the Lord will, three episcopal sees may be founded and established in Germany by apostolic commands through the authority and precept of Saint Peter, and that generations present or to come may not dare to destroy the dioceses or to dishonor the precept of the apostolic see.

Be it likewise known to you, father, that Carloman, duke of the Franks, summoned me to him and asked that I undertake to assemble a synod in the part of the kingdom of the Franks which is in his power.[3] And he gave me to understand that he wished to make some correction and amendment in the religion of the church, which now for a long time, that is, not less than sixty or seventy years, hath been trampled and demolished. Wherefore if he, being inspired of God, wishes to fulfil this truly, I ought to have and know the counsel and precept of your authority, that is, of the apostolic see. For the old men say that the Franks have held no synod for more than eighty years, nor had an archbishop, nor established or renewed in any place the canon laws of the church.[4] Moreover the bishops' sees, city by city, have now for the most part been handed over to greedy laymen to hold, or to adulterous clerics, whoremongers and publicans, for profane enjoyment. But if at your direction

[1] Würzburg. *Life*, p. 77.
[2] Erfurt.
[3] *Life*, p. 74.
[4] *Life*, pp. 75 ff.

and the request of Duke Carloman I am bound to begin and undertake this business, I desire to have at hand the precept and judgment of the apostolic see, with the church canons: in order that, if I shall find among the Franks deacons, so called, who from boyhood have passed their lives ever in debaucheries, ever in adulteries, ever in all manner of filthiness; who under such witness have come to the diaconate, and now, in the diaconate, having four or five concubines or more, yet neither blush nor fear to read the gospel and to term themselves deacons; and who, coming thus in such unchastities to the order of the priesthood, harden themselves in these sins and add sins to sins and discharge the functions of the priesthood, and say that they are able to intercede for the people and to offer the sacred offerings; and finally, yet worse, who, mounting the several steps under such witness, are ordained and termed bishops; in order that, I say, I may have a written precept and the determination of your authority concerning such persons; and that sinners may be convicted and made known through the apostolic response. And there are found among them certain bishops, who deny indeed that they are whoremongers or adulterers; but they are sottish and negligent, or given to the chase, and fight armed in the host, and shed with their own hand the blood of men, pagans or Christians. And because I am the servant and legate of the apostolic see, let my word here and yours there be one, if it chance that they and I send messengers at the same time to the judgment of your authority.

On one matter I think I must seek advice and ask permission. Ye have heard your predecessor of venerable memory enjoin upon me in your presence that I ought, God willing, to appoint a priest to be heir and successor in the ministry of the church after my death. And this is agreeable to me, if it is the will of God. But now I am in doubt, and do not know whether it can be done. For afterward the uncle

of the duke of the Franks was killed by his brother, and as yet we do not know how that dissension can be appeased or ended. And I beseech that your authority may permit me, counselling with the servants of God, to take such action concerning the choice as may seem best to us together for God and for the profit or spiritual fruit of the church and for the defence of religion; in other words, that I may have your consent to take such action on this matter as the inspiration of God may teach me is best. For it does not seem possible to do it if the prince shall oppose.

Meantime I ought to seek and ask your counsel, father, concerning a confusion and scandal of preaching which lately came upon us and disturbed my mind and filled the priests of the churches with shame. For a certain layman of high rank came to us and said that the bishop of the apostolic see, Gregory of holy memory, had given him license to take in marriage his uncle's widow, who herself was the wife of her own cousin, whom she had abandoned. And she is related in the third degree to the man who now wishes to take her, and who affirms that license has been granted him; and she vowed to God a vow of chastity and took the veil and then cast away the veil and married again. For such was the marriage that the man in question avers was permitted[1] him by the apostolic see. But we do not believe it is true. For the synod and church in which I was born and reared, the London synod in Saxony beyond seas, chiefly established and ordered by the archbishops Augustine, Laurence, Justus, Milletus, disciples of Saint Gregory, judged from the authority of Holy Writ that such connection and marriage was a crime of the deepest dye, and incest, and a horrible disgrace, and a damnable sin. Wherefore deign to declare to us,[2] father, the truth of this matter, that scandals and schisms or new errors may not thence arise and increase for the priests of the church or the Christian folk.

[1] Reading *concessum*.

[2] Reading *indicare*.

And if carnal men, laics, Alamanni or Bavarians or Franks, have seen that some of those sins which we forbid are committed near the Roman city, they think it permitted and allowed by the clergy, and count it reproach to us, and receive for their own lives a stumblingblock. Indeed they affirm that they have seen yearly in the Roman city, and near the church of Saint Peter, by day or night, when the Calends of January come in, choral dancing in the streets after the pagan fashion, and the practice of heathenish shoutings and sacrilegious songs, and tables loaded that day or night with banquets, while no one was willing to furnish his neighbor with fire or iron implement or anything of use from his house. They say, too, that they have seen there women having amulets after the pagan manner and ligatures and bands on arms and legs and publicly offering them for sale for others to purchase. All these things, because they are there seen by the carnal and foolish, occasion for us here reproach and impediment of preaching and doctrine. Of such folk saith the apostle in reproof, "Ye observe day and times; I fear lest I have bestowed upon you labor in vain."[1] And Saint Augustine said, "Who hath put his trust in the words of wickedness, that is, in soothsayers and sorcerers and interpreters of omens, or amulets and any other auguries whatsoever, though he fast, though he pray, though he run continually to church, though he give much alms, though he have crucified his body with every suffering, yet shall it profit him nothing, so long as he abandon not those sacrileges."[2] But if, father, ye shall forbid those pagan rites there in the Roman city, ye shall gain recompense for yourself, and for us great profit in the teaching of the church.

Bishops too and priests of the race of the Franks who were most violent adulterers or whoremongers, so proved by

[1] Galatians, iv, 10, 11.

[2] In Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, xxxix, col. 2270. Reckoned spurious.

children born of fornication while they were in the episcopal or priestly rank, come back from the apostolic see and say that the Roman bishop has given them license to perform the episcopal ministry in the church. Against whom we strive; for we have never heard that the apostolic see hath given judgment against the decrees of the canons.

All these matters, dearest lord, for this reason we make known to you, that we may be able to render unto such the reply of your authority; that through the caution of your teaching the sheep of the church may not be led astray, but the ravening wolves, convicted and vanquished, may perish.

Meanwhile we have sent you a few trifling gifts, not because they are worthy of you, father, but as a mark of love and devoted obedience: a napkin and a little silver and gold.

We hope that your blessedness may be safe and well, under the protection of God's right hand, and may advance in Christ in length of days.

May God enthroned on high preserve thee long,
Within the precincts of his holy house,
The master of the apostolic see.
May all the peoples love thy teaching sweet;
May Christ's grace make thee worthy of thy God;
May the fair mother feel her splendid joys;
And may a fruitful race delight God's house.

V

To Pope Zacharias

From the Acta of the Roman Synod at which Aldebert and Clemens were condemned, held October 25, 745.

To our most excellent father Pope Zacharias, apostolic bishop, supported in his magistracy by the authority of Saint

Peter, chief of the apostles, Boniface the little, servant of the servants of God, desirable salvation of love in Christ.

With the assent and at the desire of the apostolic bishop of venerable memory, the earlier Gregory,[1] nearly thirty years ago I bound myself by a vow[2] to the fellowship and service of the apostolic see. From that time it was my custom to make known to the apostolic bishop whatsoever had befallen me of joy or sadness: that in joys we might praise God together, and in sorrows I might be strengthened by his counsel. And so let it be now for you and me, I beseech your piety, as it is written, "ask thy father, and he will show thee; thy elders, and they will tell thee."[3]

For be it known to you, father, that after ye commissioned my unworthy self to have charge of a sacerdotal council and synodal assembly in the province of the Franks, even as they themselves had requested, I suffered many injuries and persecutions, above all always from false priests, adulterous elders and deacons, and lewd clerics.

Yet my greatest labor was against two open heretics of the worst sort,[4] blasphemers against God and against the Catholic faith. One, Aldebert, is of the nation of the Gauls; the other, Clemens, is by race a Scot: diverse in error, but equal in sin. I beseech your apostolic authority that ye apply yourself to defend and assist my meanness against them, and to correct the people of the Franks and Gauls by your writings: that they follow not heretics' fables and vain prodigies and signs of the forerunner of Antichrist, but be turned to the canon laws and the way of true doctrine; and that by your word those two heretics be sent into prison, if it seem just to you when I have told you of their life and doctrine. And let none speak with them or have communion, lest haply some one perish, being leavened with the leaven of

[1] Gregory II (715–731).
[2] *Life*, pp. 55, 61, note 3 (a translation).
[3] Deuteronomy, xxxii, 7.
[4] *Life*, pp. 72 f.

their doctrine. But let them live apart, according to the word of the apostle, "deliver such ones unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord,"[1] and according to the gospel precept, "if they neglect to hear the church, let them be unto us as heathen men and publicans,"[2] until they learn not to blaspheme, nor to rend the coat of Christ.[3] For because of them I suffer persecutions and enmities and revilings of many peoples, and the church of Christ endures hinderance of faith and right doctrine.

For they say of Aldebert, that I took away from them a most holy apostle, a patron and an orator, and dragged away a maker of virtues and shower of signs. But let your piety hear his life and judge from the fruit whether or not, being clad in sheep's clothing, he was inwardly a ravening wolf.[4] For in youth he was a hypocrite, saying that the angel of the Lord in human form had brought to him from the farthest bounds of the world relics of wonderful and yet uncertain sanctity; and that thenceforth he had been able to obtain from God all things whatsoever he asked. And then indeed by that pretence, as the apostle Paul foretold, he crept into the houses of many, and led captive silly women laden with sins, led away with divers lusts,[5] and a multitude of the country folk, who affirmed that he was a man of apostolic holiness and had wrought many signs and wonders. Next he gathered together unlearned bishops, who ordained him at large,[6] against the commands of the canons. Then indeed he was raised to such a pitch of pride that he likened himself to the apostles of Christ. And he scorned to consecrate a church in honor of any of the apostles or martyrs. And he asked why men should wish to visit the churches of the holy apostles. Afterward in his own honor he dedicated oratories

[1] I Corinthians, v, 5.
[2] Matthew, xviii, 17.
[3] *Cf.* John, xix, 23, 24.
[4] *Cf.* Matthew, vii, 15.
[5] II Timothy, iii, 6.
[6] "Scilicet Episcopum." Serarius.

—polluted, more truly. He made little crosses and oratories in the fields and by the springs or wheresoever he thought best, and ordered that public prayers be repeated there; until multitudes of the people, spurning other bishops and abandoning the old churches, held meetings in such places, saying, "The merits of Saint Aldebert shall aid us." His toenails and hairs he gave to be honored and carried about with relics of Saint Peter, chief of the apostles. Then indeed he did that which seemed the greatest crime and blasphemy against God. For when the people came and cast themselves at his feet and were eager to confess their sins, he said: "I have knowledge of all your sins, because your secrets are known to me. There is no need to confess; but your past sins are forgiven you. Safe and free, return to your homes in peace." And in his deportment and walk and character he imitated all things, whatsoever the holy gospel bears witness that hypocrites did.

The other heretic, Clemens, strives against the Catholic church, denies and opposes the canons of the churches of Christ, rejects the treatises and views of the holy fathers Jerome, Augustine, Gregory. Two sons were born to him in adultery while he bore the name of bishop; yet, spurning the laws of the synods, he affirms that he can be in the true sense a bishop of the Christian law. Bringing in Judaism, he decides that it is right for a Christian, if he wishes, to take to wife his brother's widow.[1] He strives against the faith of the holy fathers, saying that Christ, the son of God, descending to the dead, delivered from the prison of hell all its tenants, believers and unbelievers, praisers of God and worshippers of idols together. And he affirms many other horrible things concerning the foreordination of God, which are contrary to the Catholic faith. Wherefore as to this heretic also I pray that ye have a care to enjoin upon Duke Carloman by your letters that he be sent into prison: that he

[1] *Cf.* Deuteronomy, xxv, 5.

sow not the seeds of Satan more widely, lest haply one sickly sheep infect the whole flock.

We wish your holiness farewell and happy success and increase unto length of days.

VI

To Pope Zacharias

Sent by the hand of Lul. Date 751.

To Zacharias, reverend father, beloved lord, master to be venerated with fear and honor, endowed with the privilege of apostolic honor, exalted by the episcopal robe of the apostolic see, Boniface the little, your servant, though unworthy and lowest, yet most devoted legate in Germany, desirable salvation of unfading love in Christ.

Kind father, I beseech your holiness with urgent prayers to receive pleasantly and mercifully this priest of mine, Lul by name, the bearer of my letters. For he has some privy matters from me, which he should announce to your piety alone; some to tell you by word of mouth, some in writing to show you, some inquiries and questions to make concerning some of my wants; and to manifest to me for the solace of old age the reply and counsel of your paternity, from the authority of Saint Peter, chief of the apostles: that, when all these matters have been heard and considered, if any things that I have done are pleasing to you, I may strive, God willing, to increase them; while if, as is to be feared, any displeases, in accordance with the precept of your holy apostolate I may either merit indulgence or render worthy repentance.

The antecessor[1] of your predecessor,[2] Gregory[1] of venerable memory, when he ordained me in my unworthiness and sent me to preach the word of faith to the German tribes, bound me by an oath, that in word, deed, and concord I

[1] Gregory II. [2] Gregory III.

would support and aid canonical and righteous bishops and priests. This with the divine grace I have striven to fulfil. But as to false priests, hypocrites, and seducers of the people, according to my oath I was to amend them unto the way of salvation, or else avoid and abstain from their communion.[1] This I have kept in part and in part I have not been able to guard and fulfil. In the spirit I have fulfilled the oath, because my soul hath not entered into their concord and counsel. But in the body I was not able to hold aloof from them entirely, when, constrained by the need of the churches, I came to the prince of the Franks; since there I met with such as I did not wish. But yet I did not participate with them in the holy communion of the body of Christ.

Also the abovementioned apostolic bishop enjoined upon me to make known to the bishop of the apostolic see the conversation and manners of all the peoples that I visited. I trust in the Lord that I have done this.

But as to that which aforetime I told your holiness, in accordance with the promises of the Franks, of archbishops and palls to be sought from the church of Rome, I entreat the indulgence of the apostolic see. For they delayed and did not fulfil their promise. And it is still put off and unsettled, and their purpose is not known. But the promise was fulfilled in my desire.

Moreover there is a wooded spot in a vast desert wilderness in the mid part of the nations of our preaching, wherein we have built a monastery[2] and settled monks who live under the rule of holy father Benedict: men of strict abstinence, without flesh and wine, without beer and slaves, content with the labor of their own hands. This spot I have acquired with righteous labor through religious and Godfearing men, particularly Carloman, formerly prince of the Franks, and have dedicated in honor of the holy Saviour. In this spot, with the consent of your piety, I have proposed to rest and

[1] *Life*, p. 61, note 3. [2] Fulda. See the *Life*, pp. 11, 18, 81, note 3.

recuperate a little, for a few days, my body wearied by old age, and to lie after death. For four peoples,[1] to whom through the grace of God we have spoken the word of Christ, dwell round about this place. To them, with your intercession, I am able to be of use, so long as I retain life and understanding. For I desire with your prayers and the present grace of God to abide in the fellowship of the Roman church and in your service among the German tribes, to whom I was sent, and to obey your precept, even as it is written, "Hear your father's judgment, dear children, and do thereafter, that ye may be safe,"[2] and in another place, "He that honoreth his father shall have a long life"[3]; and again, "Honor thy father, that a blessing may come upon thee from the Lord; for the blessing of the father establisheth the houses of children."[4]

VII

To Fulrad, Abbot of St. Denis

Request to King Pippin, through Fulrad, Abbot of St. Denis, that the disciples of Boniface be cared for and that Lul be appointed his successor. Date ca. 753–754.

Boniface, servant of the servants of God, bishop by the grace of Christ, to Fulrad the priest, dear colleague in the sacred order, everlasting salvation of love in Christ.

I owe thee more thanks than I can return for the spiritual friendship of thy brotherly love, which often in my times of need thou hast rendered me in the sight of God. But I pray almighty God that he repay to thee in high Heaven the recompense of thy reward in the joy of the angels to all

[1] Hessians, Thuringians, Franks, and Bavarians. Hauck's Frisians and Tangl's Saxons may be ruled out, the former on geographical, the latter on historical grounds.

[2] Ecclesiasticus, iii, 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, iii, 6.

[4] *Ibid.*, iii, 8, 9. Evidently the conclusion of the letter has been lost.

eternity. But now in Christ's name I beseech that thou complete with God's good end that which thou hast well begun: namely, that for me thou salute Pippin, our glorious and lovely king, and return many thanks to him for all the works of piety that he has rendered me; and convey to him my judgment and that of my friends.[1]

It is evident that these infirmities must soon put an end to this temporal life and the journey of my days. Therefore I beseech our king's highness for the name's sake of Christ the son of God, that before I die he deign to declare and commit to me the sort of compassion that he wishes to show my disciples hereafter. For they are almost all foreigners. Some are priests, established in many places to minister unto church and people. Some are monks in our cloisters, and boys appointed for study. And some are older men, who have lived and labored long with me and were my helpers. For all these I am anxious, that after my death they be not ruined, but have your merciful counsel and exalted patronage, and be not scattered abroad, as sheep having no shepherd[2]; and that the people near the border of the pagans lose not utterly the law of Christ.[3] Therefore in the name of God I diligently beseech your fostering clemency, that, if God will and it please your clemency, ye order and appoint my son and suffragan bishop Lul to this ministry of the peoples and the churches, as a preacher and teacher of the priests and peoples. And I hope, if God will, that in him the priests shall have a master and the monks a teacher of the rule and the Christian peoples a faithful preacher and shepherd. Therefore also I beg most of all for this, that my priests near the border of the pagans may have a frugal

[1] The message to Pippin is contained in the following paragraph, which, it will be noted, is worded as if addressed directly to the king. This is shown not only by the sense, but also by the change in the number of the pronoun of the second person from the intimate singular to the more deferential plural.

[2] Matthew, ix, 36.

[3] Galatians, vi, 2.

maintenance. They can get bread to eat; but they can not procure clothing there, unless they have counsel and a helper from elsewhere, in the same way as I have helped them, so that they can bear up and endure in those places for the ministry of the people. And if love of Christ shall inspire you to consent to fulfil my prayer, deign by these my present messengers or by the letter of your piety to commit and disclose this unto me, that I may live, or die, more joyful in your compassion.

VIII

To Count Regebert

Letter of safe conduct. Date unknown (723-755).

To our beloved son, Count Regebert, Boniface, servant of the servants of God, eternal salvation in the Lord.

We beseech and pray thy excellent clemency that this my courier, proceeding to Rome for answers on church questions and for prayers, be permitted to traverse your territories in safety, and that ye deign to aid him in special necessities, as ye have done to our former couriers, according to the report they have brought back. Therefore so act on this request that your recompense may increase and be multiplied before God.

Farewell in Christ.

IX

To Gemmulus

A letter of friendship. Date probably 746-755.

To our most reverend and dearly beloved son, Archdeacon Gemmulus,[1] Boniface the little, servant of the

[1] The text has *Iammulo.* But it can hardly be doubted that this is the same as the 'Gemmulus indignus diaconus sanctæ sedis apostolicæ,' two

servants of God, pleasant salvation of eternal love in Christ.

Often love joins in the spirit those who in the flesh are far apart. And this is not the least hardship of travel, that friend recalls to mind with sorrow and grief the friend whom he ardently loves, now far away, while he can hardly endure the troublesome and annoying neighborhood of a hostile enemy. Brother, would that I might have thee near as comforter of this pilgrimage, use thy holy counsel, rejoice in thy consolation, be gladdened by the sight of thy dear face and refreshed by thy holy exhortation. But because the condition of mortal life and the nature of things do not permit this to be, let true affection do the only and greatest thing which God hath granted and enjoined in his words, "This is my commandment, that ye love one another,"[1] and the rest. Let her love truly in God the absent, whom she can not have present in the body. And, as Saint Augustine said, though one be in the East, and the other in the West, if love binds together, they shall never be separated from one another.[2] And the Saviour of the world said, "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another."[3] Therefore according to James, who said, "the prayer of faith shall save the sick,"[4] and, a little after, "pray one for another, that ye may be healed,"[5] let us pray one for another, that we may be healed, and that the compassionate Lord, who hath separated us on earth, may gather us together rejoicing in high Heaven.

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letters of whom to Boniface have been preserved (nos. 54 and 62 in Dümmler's edition of *S. Bonifatii et Lulli Epistolæ*).

[1] John, xv, 12.

[2] In Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, xxxix, col. 1957. Of doubtful authorship.

[3] John, xiii, 35.

[4] James, v, 15.

[5] *Ibid.*, v, 16.

X

To Abbot Optatus of Monte Cassino

Boniface requests Optatus to enter into a spiritual brotherhood with him. Date 750–755.

To Abbot Optatus,[1] reverend brother and beloved colleague in the sacred order, and to all the holy congregation guarding under his charge the pattern of the regular life, Boniface, named bishop without prerogative of merits, desirable salvation of love in Christ.

We beseech with heartfelt prayers the venerable clemency of your holiness, that ye deign to receive and have our unworthy self in unity of fraternal love and spiritual fellowship with you: that we may be one in faith and in pious deeds. For Peter, chief of the apostles, exhorts us, saying, "above all things have mutual love among yourselves: for love shall cover the multitude of sins,"[2] and the Truth[3] himself said, "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another,"[4] and in like manner Paul the apostle admonishes us, saying, "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ,"[5] and in another place, "Now the end of the commandment is love out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned."[6] So we pray that ye, brother, living under the rule in the spiritual life, deign in the peaceful tranquillity of brotherly concord to obtain for our weakness, by your entreaty, "that the word of the Lord may have free course, and be glorified,"[7] that, in the words of the apostle, "we may be delivered from unreasonable and wicked men"[8] and from

[1] *Cf.* the *Life*, p. 62, note 1; and B. E. Simson's *Willibald's Leben des heiligen Bonifazius*, p. 48, note 2, with the references there given.

[2] I Peter, iv, 8. [3] John, xiv, 6. [4] *Ibid.*, xiii, 35.

[5] Galatians, vi, 2. *Cf.* Romans, xiii, 8. [6] I Timothy, i, 5.

[7] II Thessalonians, iii, 1. [8] *Ibid.*, iii, 2.

the temptations of evil spirits and the tribulations of adversaries; and that the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ and the way of life, which we ought ourself to proceed to show to the peoples and tribes, may not grow dark and be hidden for our own self. Also we pray earnestly that the intimacy of brotherly love may be between us, and common prayer for the living, and that prayers and solemn masses for those departing from this world may be celebrated when the names of the deceased are sent to and fro between us. Meantime, brother, if ye shall see fit to intrust to us anything to do or say, we will fulfil your wish and desire in everything. Therefore take such action on this request of ours, that in the lofty summit of Heaven the reward of your mercy may grow bright and increase in the celestial court of the angels.

May the Saviour of the world forever guard your happiness in long life and health and strength and the fragrancy of sweetest flowers of deeds and words.

XI

To King Pippin

Date ca. 753–755.

To Pippin, excellent lord, king of the Franks, Boniface, the bishop, salvation in the Lord.

We thank your merciful highness very much, and we pray the Lord Jesus Christ to repay you with eternal recompense in the kingdom of Heaven, because ye have deigned to listen mercifully to our petitions and to console my old age and infirmity. Know now, glorious son, that through the compassion of God I believe that I can again be in your service. Therefore, in order that we may do your will, we request you to tell us if we ought to come to that national assembly.

A servant of our church, Ansfrid by name, a lying knave who escaped from us by fraud, came to us with your rescript

and asked that we do him justice. We are sending him to you with this letter and our messenger, that ye may know that he lied to you. We beg that for your own sake ye protect us against such forgers and give no credence to their falsehoods.

Farewell ever in God.

XII

To Pope Stephen II

Apology for tardiness in writing. Date probably about the beginning of the year 755.

To Pope Stephen,[1] excellent lord, worthy of place and love before other bishops, endowed with the privilege of the apostolate, Bishop Boniface the little, disciple of the Roman church, desirable salvation of love in Christ.

I entreat your merciful holiness vehemently, with deep and heartfelt prayers, that I may obtain and have from your kindness and mercy the fellowship and concord of the holy apostolic see; and that, serving the apostolic see in the discipleship of your piety, I may be able to remain your faithful and devoted servant, in the same manner as I served the apostolic see before under your three predecessors of venerable memory, the two Gregorys and Zacharias, who always fortified and aided me by exhortation and by the authority of their letters. For if I have accomplished anything of service to the Roman church during the thirty-six years that I have spent as its ambassador,[2] I desire still to complete

[1] Stephen II, pope from 752 to 757; often referred to as Stephen III. *Cf.* the writer's "Chronological Table of Roman Emperors and Popes," in *A History of All Nations*, viii, p. 320; and R. L. Poole's "The Names and Numbers of Medieval Popes," in *The English Historical Review*, October, 1917, pp. 476 f.

[2] From 719. *Life*, pp. 49 ff.

and increase the work. But if I am found guilty of inefficiency or injustice, in deed or word, I promise sacredly that I am willing to make ready, willing, and humble amends in accordance with the judgment of the Roman church.

Meantime I beg that my pious lord be not displeased that I am so late in directing my messenger and letter to your presence. But the reason for this delay was my preoccupation in the restoration of the churches which the pagans burned. For they wasted and burned more than thirty churches in our parishes and cloisters. And this was the occasion of my tardiness in writing and in addressing you, father, not carelessness or negligence.

XIII

To Pope Stephen II

Controverting the claim of the Bishop of Cologne to the See of Utrecht. Written probably early in 755.

To Pope Stephen, venerable and estimable lord, endowed with the privilege of the apostolate, Boniface the little, ambassador or messenger to Germany of the catholic and apostolic Roman church, desirable salvation of love in Christ.

In the time of Sergius, bishop of the apostolic see,[1] there came to the threshold of the holy apostles a Saxon priest of wonderful abstinence and sanctity, by name Willibrord,[2] called also Clemens; whom Pope Sergius ordained bishop, and despatched to preach unto the pagan race of the Frisians by the shores of the western ocean. Willibrord, during the fifty years of his preaching, converted the aforesaid race of the Frisians for the most part to the faith of Christ, destroyed temples and shrines and erected churches, and established a

[1] Sergius I (687–701). [2] *Life*, pp. 53 ff.

bishop's see and a church in honor of the Holy Saviour in the fortified town which is called Trajectum.[1] And in that see and in the church of the Holy Saviour, which he built, he continued preaching even unto feeble old age. And he appointed a suffragan bishop to assist in the discharge of his ministry; and when the days of a long life were completed, he departed in peace unto the Lord.

Moreover Carloman, prince of the Franks, committed that see to me, to establish and ordain a bishop; which I did.[2]

But now the bishop of Cologne usurps unto himself that see of the aforesaid Bishop Clemens ordained by Pope Sergius, and says that it belongs to him on account of the foundation of a little church, destroyed by the pagans, which Willibrord found razed to the ground in the fortified town of Trajectum, and built up from the foundation by his own labor, and consecrated in honor of Saint Martin. And he alleges that an ancient king of the Franks, Dagobert, had given the town of Trajectum, with the destroyed church, to the diocese of Cologne, on the condition that the bishop of Cologne should convert the race of the Frisians to the faith of Christ and preach unto them; which he did not do. He did not preach, he did not convert the Frisians to the faith of Christ; nay, the race of the Frisians remained pagan until Sergius, venerable pontiff of the Roman see, despatched the abovenamed servant of God, Bishop Willibrord, to preach unto them; and it was Willibrord, as I have said, who converted the Frisians to the faith of Christ. And now the bishop of Cologne wishes to gather to himself the see of the preacher Willibrord, that there may be no episcopal see, subject to the Roman pontiff, carrying the word to the race of the Frisians. I answered him as I believed, namely, that greater weight and force should be assigned to the pre-

[1] Utrecht. The Roman *Ultratrajectum* or *Trajectum ad Rhenum;* called Trecht' by Willibald in the *Life*, pp. 44, 81, 88.

[2] *Life*, p. 81. [3] Dagobert I (628–638).

cept of the apostolic see and the ordination of Pope Sergius and the embassy of the venerable preacher Willibrord, and the possibility of an episcopal see, subject to the Roman pontiff, carrying the word unto the race of the Frisians—for great part of them are still pagan—than to the foundations of a little destroyed church, cast down and trampled by the pagans and forsaken through the negligence of bishops. But he does not agree.

Deign to make known to me your decision, father. And if this answer which I have made to the bishop of Cologne be just and please you, confirm it by your authority, that the precept of Pope Sergius and the see of Trajectum may abide steadfast. For so ye can help us, if it please you, if ye give orders to copy from the archives of your church and send to me whatsoever Saint Sergius taught and wrote to Bishop Willibrord after the ordination; that from the authority of your holiness I may be able to convict and overcome those who speak in opposition. But if a different decision seem juster to your holiness, deign to make known to me your counsel, father, that I may comply.

LIST OF MEMBERS

An asterisk before a name indicates a sustaining member; a double asterisk, a life member.

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BROWN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, Providence, R. I.

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CARLETON COLLEGE LIBRARY, Northfield, Minn.

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SPINKA, MATTHEW, Reformed, Rev.; professor of Church History, Central Theological Seminary, Dayton, O.; B.D. (Chicago Theological Seminary, 1916); M.A. (Divinity School of the University of Chicago, 1919); Ph.D. (University of Chicago, 1923).

STAUFFER, VERNON, Disciple, Rev.; professor in Transylvania College, Lexington, Ky.; Ph.D. (Columbia University, 1918).

STEIMLE, AUGUSTUS, Lutheran, Rev.; pastor of the Church of the Advent, New York; D.D. (Muhlenberg College, 1914).

STOCK, HARRY THOMAS, Congregationalist, Rev.; assistant professor of Church History and Librarian, Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill.; A.M. (University of Chicago, 1917).

STOUT, JAMES COFFIN, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History in the Biblical Seminary in New York, New York City; B.D. (Princeton Theological Seminary, 1910).

STUCKERT, HOWARD MORRIS, Episcopalian, Rev.; assistant professor of European History, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.; M.A. (University of Pennsylvania, 1915).

SULLIVAN, WILLIAM LAURENCE, Unitarian, Rev.; minister, All Souls' Church, New York City; S.T.L. (Catholic University of America, 1900).

SWEET, WILLIAM WARREN, Methodist, Rev.; professor of History, DePauw University, Greencastle, Indiana; B.D. (Drew Theological Seminary, 1906); Th.M. (Crozer Theological Seminary, 1907); A.M. (University of Pennsylvania, 1909); Ph.D. (*ibid.*, 1912).

TENNEY, SAMUEL MILLS, Presbyterian, Rev.; pastor-at-large of the Presbytery of Eastern Texas; Rusk, Tex.; president of the Presbyterian Historical Society of the Synod of Texas; D.D. (Austin College, 1917).

TIDBALL, THOMAS ALLEN, Episcopalian, Rev.; professor emeritus of Ecclesiastical History in the University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.; D.D. (William and Mary College, 1878).

TIPPLE, EZRA SQUIER, Methodist, Rev.; president and professor of Practical Theology, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.; A.M. (Syracuse University, 1885); Ph.D. (*ibid.*, 1886); D.D. (*ibid.*, 1899); LL.D. (*ibid.*, 1913).

TRYON, HAROLD HARRISON, Presbyterian; assistant professor of Biblical Philology and Church History, Union Theological Seminary, New York City; B.D. (*ibid.*, 1904).

TUCKER, ROBERT LEONARD, Methodist, Rev.; Detroit, Mich.; Ph.D. (Columbia University, 1918).

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VASSAR COLLEGE LIBRARY, Poughkeepsie, New York.

WALKER, CURTIS HOWE, Congregationalist, layman; lecturer in European History, the Rice Institute, Houston, Texas; Ph.D. (Yale University, 1905).

*Washburn, Henry Bradford, Episcopalian, Rev.; professor of Ecclesiastical History, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.

Weber, Henry Jacob, Presbyterian, Rev.; dean and professor of Theology and Church History, Bloomfield Theological Seminary, Bloomfield, N. J.; Ph.D. (University of Pennsylvania, 1894); D.D. (German Theological School of Newark, N. J., 1909).

Weiskotten, Herbert T., Lutheran, Rev.; pastor of St. John's Church, Summit, N. J.; Ph.D. (Princeton University, 1918).

Wendel, Hugo Christian Martin, Lutheran, layman; instructor in Mediæval and Modern History, and Schaff Memorial Lecturer in Church History, New York University, New York; Ph.D. (University of Pennsylvania, 1918).

Wenner, George Unangst, Lutheran, Rev.; pastor of Christ Church, Manhattan, New York; D.D. (Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, 1888); L.H.D. (Susquehanna University, 1917).

Wentz, Abdel Ross, Lutheran, Rev.; professor of History and Biblical Literature, Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa.; A.M. (Pennsylvania College, 1907); Ph.D. (George Washington University, 1914).

Weswig, Carl Marcus, Lutheran, Rev.; professor of Historical Theology, Luther Theological Seminary, St. Paul, Minn.; B.D. (Chicago Lutheran Theological Seminary, 1898).

Whitmer, Paul E.; dean in Witmarsum Theological Seminary, Bluffton, O.

Wilbur, Earl Morse, Unitarian, Rev.; president and professor of Practical Theology, Pacific Unitarian School for the Ministry, Berkeley, Calif.; A. M. (Harvard University, 1890); D.D. (University of Vermont, 1910).

Worcester, Edward Strong, Congregationalist, Rev.; pastor of the Congregational Church of Bellows Falls, Vt.; B.D. (Hartford Theological Seminary, 1901).

Wright, Henry Burt, professor of Christian Methods, Yale Divinity School, New Haven Conn., Ph.D. (Yale, 1903).

Members are requested to communicate to the Secretary any corrections or additions to the data contained in this list.

DECEASED MEMBERS

ALLEN, ALEXANDER VIETS GRISWOLD, died in Cambridge, Mass., Wednesday, July 1, 1908.

BACON, LEONARD WOOLSEY, died at Assonet, Mass., Sunday, May 12, 1907.

BALLANTYNE, JAMES, died at Toronto, Canada, Wednesday, December, 21, 1921.

BUCKLEY, JAMES MUNROE, died at Morristown, N. J., Sunday, February 8, 1920.

CARR, JOHN ARCHBALD, died September 16, 1920.

CASE, CLIFFORD PHILIP, died at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Sunday, March 7, 1920.

COE, EDWARD BENTON, died in New York City, Thursday, March 19, 1914.

CORWIN, EDWARD TANJORE, died at North Branch, N. J., Monday, June 22, 1914.

DRYER, GEORGE HERBERT, died at Phoenix, Arizona, November 9, 1917.

DRURY, JOHN BENJAMIN, died in New Brunswick, N. J., Sunday, March 21, 1909.

DWIGHT, HENRY OTIS, died at Roselle, N. J., Tuesday, June 19, 1917.

ELWELL, JOHN LEWIS, died in Washington, D. C., Wednesday, March 16, 1910.

FERGUSON, HENRY, died at Hartford, Conn., Friday, March 30, 1917.

HULBERT, ERI BAKER, died in Chicago, Ill., Sunday, February 17, 1907.

JACKSON, GEORGE ANSON, died at Swampscott, Mass., Wednesday, May 8, 1907.

Jackson, Samuel Macauley, died at Washington, Conn., Friday, August 2, 1912.

Kolyn, Matthew, died at Muskegon, Mich., on May 3, 1918.

Krotel, Gottlob Frederick, died in New York City, Friday, May 17, 1907.

Larsen, Lauritz, died at Erie, Pa., Sunday, January 28, 1923.

Lea, Henry Charles, died in Philadelphia, Pa., Sunday, October 24, 1909.

Lewis, Abram Herbert, died at Westerly, R. I., Tuesday, November 3, 1908.

Nicum, John, died in Rochester, N. Y., Monday, November 1, 1909.

Norcross, George, died at Carlisle, Pa., Monday, March 8, 1915.

Rauschenbush, Walter, died at Rochester, N. Y., on July 25, 1918.

Riggs, James Forsyth, died at Orange, N. J., on January 24, 1918.

Rogers, James William, died at Walton, Ky., 1910.

Ruston, William Otis, died at Dubuque, Ia., Saturday, May 27, 1922.

Schoenfeld, William F., died on Wednesday, July 30, 1919.

Scott, Hugh McDonald, died in Chicago, Ill., Thursday, April 29, 1909.

Show, Arley Barthlow, died Wednesday, October 27, 1920.

Smith, Heman C., died at Independence, Mo., Thursday, April 17, 1919.

Spaeth, (Philip Friedrich) Adolph (Theodor), died in Philadelphia, Pa., Sunday, June 26, 1910.

Spieker, George Frederick, died at Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa., Sunday, September 7, 1913.

Stephens, Henry Morse, died at San Francisco, Cal., April 16, 1919.

Thomas, Allen Clapp, died at Haverford, Pa., on Wednesday, December 15, 1920.

Tiffany, Charles Comfort, died at Northeast Harbor, Me., Tuesday, August 20, 1907.

Van Kirk, Hiram, died at Noroton, Conn., on Friday, August 13, 1920.

Walker, Williston, died at New Haven, Conn., Thursday, March 9, 1922.

Whitaker, William Force, died at Elizabeth, N. J., Sunday, July 9, 1916.

Statistics of Membership

	Living	Deceased
1908 (Vol. I)	61	4
1910 (Vol. II)	60	14
1912 (Vol. III)	90	15
1914 (Vol. IV)	117[1]	18
1916 — —	144[2]	20
1917 (Vol. V)	159[2]	22
1921 (Vol. VI)	204[3]	34
1923 (Vol. VII)	178[4]	39

[1] Including three Libraries.
[2] Including five Libraries.
[3] Including eleven Libraries.
[4] Including twelve Libraries.

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